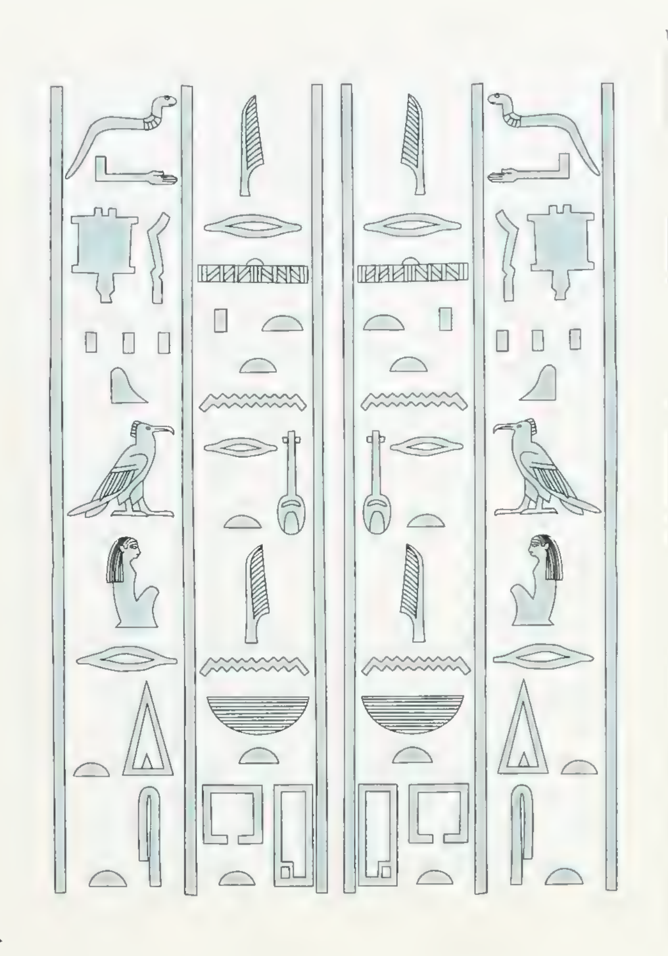

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF EGYPT

EDITED BY F. LL. GRIFFITH

EIGHTEENTH MEMOIR

THE ROCK TOMBS

OF

EL AMARNA

PART VI.—TOMBS OF PARENNEFER, TUTU, AND AŸ

BY

N. DE G. DAVIES

FORTY-FOUR PLATES

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LIST OF PLATES

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* *Photographic Plates.*

THE ROCK TOMBS OF EL AMARNA.

PART VI.

CHAPTER I.

THE TOMB OF PARENNEFER (hieroglyphs).

TOMB No. 7[1] is the northernmost of the tombs of the South Group, being excavated at the extreme end of the line of foot-hills (IV. xiii.). Lying high up on a steep slope, its entrance was probably always traceable, if not actually open. A road which leads from it to the city across the plain helps to mark down the site. The name of the owner is injured wherever it occurs, and the reading adopted here is due to a shrewd guess of the late M. Bouriant.

A. ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES.

EXTERIOR.—The tomb is a very unpretentious one of the cross-corridor type, but is singular in possessing a fully-decorated façade (Pl. ii.). The door-framing shows on the lintel the royal family worshipping to right and left of an altar on which the sun casts its rays. On the jambs there is only the group of five cartouches written in a horizontal line below the sun-disc. The smoothed wall to right and left of the doorway is occupied by reliefs, the upper parts of which have been erased by the whirling sands of centuries. The two pictures exhibit, with differences merely of grouping, the conventional scene of the worship of Aten by the King and Queen, accompanied by their household. There are three princesses, and, though the inscriptions are broken, it is easy to perceive as well the figure of Benretmut, the Queen's sister, officiating as fan-bearer and ranking after the royal children.[2] Nothing appears in the details of the picture which is not already familiar from similar scenes.

The supplementary picture which is so often set below the main scene has been executed only on the left (north) side. Here the royal chariots and the rest of the body-guard make halt at a respectful distance, and here, too, Parennefer is seen making his private offering. The position facing the King which is given him seems to indicate that his homage is directed to the monarch rather than to the god. He kneels in front of one of the little chapels or magazines which the pictures of the temple show in such numbers, and the due paraphernalia of offering set out before him are also in accord. It appears then as if Parennefer was making his gift in one of the side chapels, while the royal family worshipped at the great altar. Possibly this chapel is meant to be that one in the temple which was connected with his own tomb-endowment (*wakf*), and where the offerings for the

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[1] "The north-easternmost tomb behind Hadgi-Qandeel" of Hay; No. 3 of Lepsius. A sketch-plan of the tomb is given in *Mon. du culte d'Atonou*, I., p. 125.

[2] The second figure in the upper register on the right hand; effaced in the left-hand scene. Cf. Pls. iv., xvi., xvii., xxvi., xxviii.; II., v., vii., viii.; V., iii., v.

dead were first spread out before the god or the King, or both.

INTERIOR.—Except for the entrance and the two walls in the northern half, the tomb is in a very rough and unfinished state. Its floor has not been cut to the full depth, the walls of the southern half are still irregular, and the south door is only outlined in ink. The door at the north end of the corridor has been pierced, but instead of admitting to a shrine and statue, it opens into two low successive chambers, small and roughly hewn, where the sepulture must have been made. The east doorway was inscribed in ink, as fragments of *dy hetep seten* prayers on the right jamb shew,[1] but later it was almost destroyed in an effort to carry the excavations further in this direction. This extension, as also a square recess in the north end of the east wall, is probably contemporary; for the latter may be the first step in forming the pillars of the enlarged chamber. The decoration on this side of the tomb is naturally left in ink, since it could only be carried out if the ever-present hope of enlarging the chamber was definitely abandoned. Had this been done, the pictures would have been transferred to the rear wall of the extended chamber.

On the west wall south of the entrance there are remains of hieratic graffiti (Pl. vii.).[2] A square is marked out on the floor near the north door, as if a pit were projected. The ceiling is squared up in readiness for a design.

B. SCENES AND INSCRIPTIONS.

NORTH WALL-THICKNESS (Plates iii., vii., viii.).

Previous copy: *Mon. du culte d'Atonou*, I., Pls. lxii., lxiii. (photograph).

This space is occupied by a picture of the royal family, as is usual in these tombs. But as the scene of worship had already been dealt with outside, the artist was able to use some freedom. Accordingly the figures face inwards and are given the most unconstrained attitudes, as if the deceased man had wished to depict a royal visit to his tomb, whether remembered with pride as an event of the past or thus delicately suggested for the future. Or else it may depict simply those many occasions on which the King, sauntering forth with his family, included the gratified Parennefer among the scribes and officials who, after the wont of the East, formed a favoured train on such occasions. These attendants are seen in the foot-scene carrying water, stools and the outfit of the scribe—exactly the needful accessories of a visit of inspection to the tombs. Parennefer has not attached his name, but probably the "cleanser of His Majesty's hands" is to be seen in the official who carries ewer and towel.

The main scene shows the King walking under the rays of the sun, which clasp him under the armpit and head, as if to hold him up in their hands lest he stumble against a stone in the rough desert.[3] He grasps a staff in his left hand and throws his right arm round the Queen in the most caressing way possible. The picture unhappily is not intact, but it is plain that the King's arm passed round the neck of the Queen and that the fingers of their right hands were interlaced.[4] The Queen wears a *coiffure* as simple as that of her ladies save for the uraeus on her brow. Four shade-bearers go in front, and probably no one saw the incongruity of depicting the sun as an inconvenient and as a benevolent power at one and the same time.

Behind the Queen follow the three princesses and their nurses. Merytaten displays as affectionate a nature as her parents; for she and her

[1] Commencing (4th column) "A *dy hetep seten* of the living Aten, and the great Queen" ("spirit of the King," in the third column).

[2] Mr. Griffith can only decipher a reference to "the temple of Thoth in Khmennu (Eshmunên)."

[3] For the caressing hands see Pls. iv., xvi., xvii., xxix.

[4] See the enlargement Pl. vii. The artist has exaggerated the size of the hands in order to make the attitude clear. The King's hand is uppermost.

youngest sister walk with their arms round one another's necks and beguile the way with caresses.

SOUTH WALL-THICKNESS (Plates iii., viii.).—Here a full-size figure of Parennefer is seen in act of prayer. His bald head is crowned with the festal cap and his neck is loaded with five double collars of gold beads. The text of his prayer has been injured both in ancient and in recent times, and his name, which occurs twice in the text, was possibly expunged deliberately.[1] For a translation of the prayer see p. 25.

WEST WALL: NORTH SIDE (Plates iv.,[2] v., vii., ix., x.).

Previous copies (of Plate iv.): HAY, *MSS.* 29814, fol. 39, 40; 29847, fol. 64; LEPSIUS, *D.*, III., 108, 109; *Mon. du culte d'Atonou*, I., Pl. lxv.

AT THE PALACE WINDOW (Plate iv.).—This wall, with its wealth of detail, its beauty of execution, and its scheme of colour, would be in strong contrast to its wretched surroundings, in spite of its own incompleteness and the stains and erasures that time has effected, had it not been mutilated in the most heart-rending way in the general assault upon the tombs in 1890. The outlines of the picture, fortunately, can be restored in all essentials from earlier copies, and are presented here in full for the first time.

Not only is the subject of the reward of the deserving official the prominent feature in every tomb, but the same general presentation of it, though with much change of form, occupies the front wall of each of the chief tombs of this group (those of Aÿ, Tutu, Maÿ (?), and Parennefer). The picture, therefore, may be dismissed in a few words. The balcony from which the King and Queen lean out to see their favourite publicly decorated is, as usual, the chief feature in the picture, not only in size but also in the amount of coloured detail bestowed upon it. The decoration shown on the palace front differs somewhat from that given elsewhere; but if this makes it unlikely that it is an exact reproduction of one of the palace windows, it none the less mirrors faithfully the kind of ornamentation which was applied to the walls above the dado of painted wainscotting.[3] The design on the panelled front of the balcony is met with elsewhere in a less perfect condition (Plate xix. and II. xxxi. For a coloured copy see Frontispiece, Vol V.).[4] Pictures similarly rich in information

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[1] The first occurrence of the name shows that it ended in *nefer*, the second that it began with *Par*; and as an *n* and *nfr* can be traced below at intervals it seems certain that the rest of the name was written in ill-cut hieroglyphs where the contour of the figure left room for them. As the name is well known in the 18th Dynasty, its adoption, suggested by Bouriant (*Mon. du culte d'Atonou*, I., p. 124), is fairly safe. The east door (Pl. vii.), which might have solved the question, gives less than no help. The only column preserved (in ink) on the right jamb ends with the title preceding the name, the wall not having been smoothed below this. Faint traces of the ends of the four columns remain on the left jamb. The three first end at the same level with the fragment of a title or name *en pet* (?). The fourth closes with a name (?) ending in *r* or perhaps *par*. This may be the name of the wife, which seems to have ended in [hieroglyph] (Pl. v. For mention of the wife cf. Pl xxiv.).

[2] The right-hand half of Pl. iv. (the scene outside the balcony) is from a half-scale drawing, but, owing to the extensive injuries to the wall, I took L., *D.*, III., 109, as the basis of the rest. I altered it, however, in numberless points of detail from the wall itself or from the copy of Hay. I have also ventured here and there to bring it into nearer harmony with the style in vogue at El Amarna, as shown in extant parts or elsewhere. I could not use the picture in the French publication, since it is evidently a copy of Lepsius, with the addition of the left-hand bottom corner, which he did not include, and a few other alterations. In Plate iv., as elsewhere, the limits of the parts which are now destroyed are marked by a faint outline and an asterisk in the margin. Berlin Museum possesses squeezes of the scene (No. 503).

[3] Remains of such decoration, probably with the closest degree of resemblance, may still be seen on the ruined walls of the palace of the King's father, Amenhetep III., at Thebes.

[4] This copy was made for me by Mr. E. Harold Jones, who spent much care on it. In the original the colours are much soiled and impaired, so that close study is necessary for their recovery, nor can I feel sure that we have obtained the original value of some of the greens. It will be seen that there are painted designs on the borders and cornices of the *loggia* which were too minute or uncertain to be reproduced in Plate iv. The cushion is red with small blue diamonds, alternating with larger white diamonds with dark red outline and central spot.

as to the design and colour of the textile fabrics familiar to the Egyptians of the Eighteenth Dynasty exist in the Theban tombs, but few are available for study, and the designs tatooed in black on the body of the Libyan captive are especially interesting.

Some further points may be noted. The rays which clasp the body of the King and Queen, as if to prevent them losing their balance as they lean over the window-sill, show a pretty fancy of the artist which is confined to the large tombs of this group. The gift of the uraeus as well as the *ankh* by the rays is still more unusual. The profile of the King corresponds very closely to other portraits in the necropolis, but the forms of his neck and hips reach the extreme of misproportion. He wears an elaborate collar, on which and from which the cartouches of Aten hang in pairs. The twin cartouches also adorn his upper- and fore-arms; they are not tatooed but mounted on threads or ribbons, as is plainly shown in the case of the Queen. The royal pair are accompanied by the three princesses and their nurses and also by Benretmut, who is consistently shown by her stature to be their senior.[1] The group of princesses interrupts a picture of the interior of the palace which will be dealt with separately (p. 36).

In the Courtyard (Right half of Plate iv.).—Inside the central entrance of the palace courtyard, which here is represented as a double gate set in a high wall, are seen a group of the royal chariots and the notables of the city, including two or three in mayoral dress and three fan-bearers. With some probability we might see in the first three Nekht-pa-aten, Aÿ, and Ahmes.

The mayor stretches out his hand as if to touch the hand of the King in greeting. Some courtiers stand in obeisance at a greater distance, and still further in the background, where a cup-bearer is decanting wine or water from the great jars, are hostages or visitors from Nubia and Syria.

Beneath the window Parennefer (not named), who has reached the supreme moment of his career (and, to judge by his features, not early in life), dances with excitement as he is loaded more and more heavily with the King's favours. Already the fifth necklace of gold beads is being secured round his neck, while a second servant rubs his body with precious ointment. Other presents, collars, necklaces, and bags (of gold?) are displayed under the porch. A still greater array of articles of dress is being brought out of a chest, faster indeed than the busy scribes can register them, and a long file of servants is employed in carrying off in jars and baskets what may richly fill Parennefer's store-chambers. Two trusty guardians keep the postern through which the porters defile; one is armed with a staff and a supple whip, while the other seems able to wield a pen as readily as a stick.

Outside the Palace Gates (Plate v.).[2]—As this part of the design was never sculptured, it has nearly disappeared. Four out of the five registers, apparently, were filled with the train of servants bearing away the King's bounty, of which only a few jars, ewers, and basins are distinguishable. In the midst of this profitable escort Parennefer makes a triumphant progress homeward in his chariot. We see him at the moment when the women of his house come out

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[1] From tracings of the Berlin squeeze kindly furnished me by Dr. Schaefer it is plain that the first sign of the name of this princess is of much the same shape as that shewn in her name in Plate xxxi. In both cases the spreading shoots at the top of the root seem certain, but in neither is it quite plain whether the sides are shaped like a root or a pod. The shape of the sign in L., *D. Text*, II., p. 142 (on this same wall) speaks for the former; but Hay's copy gives it an intermediate form such as it has also in Petrie, *Tell el Amarna*, Pl. xii. This latter is probably the form in use in the necropolis. The *bnr* sign in III. vi. is injured and may not have been perfectly reproduced. The head of Benretmut seems well rendered in L. *D.*, III., 109, but apparently is somewhat restored.

[2] Reduced from a tracing.

to meet him with music and dancing, and his wife, rushing forward, is the first to welcome him with uplifted arms. Of her outburst of praise to the generous King we can only decipher "[the mistress] of the house, the favourite of the chief wife of the King, ——re, says (?) '. . . . . Grant to him . . . . Nefertiti (?) [living] for ever . . . . for ever and ever.'"

The House of Parennefer (Pl. vii.).—It is evident from the last plate and from a study of similar pictures that the scene is not yet complete. It must have extended over the narrow strip of the north wall adjacent to it and have included, as is often the case, a picture of the home of the official. Of this ink design only a small fragment can now be recovered at the bottom of the wall. On the left, apparently, is the outer wall of the premises with a gate admitting to the garden. Immediately within is a building or enclosure with gate and screening wall (?), containing an altar loaded with offerings. Beyond is the garden, the arrangement and contents of which are no longer clear.

East Wall: North Side (Plate vi.).[1]—This scene was never executed with the chisel, and what remains of the ink design can be deciphered only with some difficulty, and here and there with uncertainty. A large part of the wall to the left of the picture in the plate shows no trace of design and perhaps never received any, while the excavations round the doorway have removed the end of the picture on the right hand, where the Queen and the princesses were probably shown sitting behind the King. This is the only case in this group (apart from the peculiar tomb of Mahu) in which a scene from the back wall is preserved, and it is therefore some guide to the imagination in completing other tombs, such as those of Aÿ and Tutu. The picture depicts the King sitting on a stool under a baldachin on a raised daïs with a sloping approach (cf. II. xxxviii.).

The purpose of this public appearance is not quite obvious from the picture, and the inscription put in the mouths of the courtiers or singers seems to have been one of adulation merely.

> "O Pharaoh (?), millions of years and myriads (?) [of *sed*-festivals], the bright child of the Aten, who hast afforded (?) a sight of thyself (?) to us (?) . . . . . . Thou sparklest[2] with the brightness of the living Aten. Thou seest his beautiful rays . . . . multiplying for thee the tale of *sed*-festivals. He hath transferred[3] to thee every land and given (?) to thee . . . . to make for thy heart . . . . giving life to hearts . . . . , O Ua-en-ra whom the Aten loves!"

The King, who is dressed in his *Atef*-crown of state, may be giving audience to an embassy which is presenting the tribute shown in the picture. Or it may be that the great array of dishes was only designed to express the abundance that reigned within the palace, and that we merely see the King in a moment of ease when it fell to Parennefer to discharge his duty and pour water on the royal hands and feet. The baldachin under which the King sits is supported on wooden columns having a capital formed by the union of the lotus and its buds with the lily. The King is being served with a draught by the cup-bearer; and another official, whom we may perhaps identify as Parennefer himself, kneels at his feet, attending to them.

All that remains to us of the scene before the King is a mass of dishes, jars, and tables of meat, and several groups of musicians. Foremost among the latter is a (double ?) troupe of female performers. Their instruments can no longer be enumerated, but we can distinguish both the standing harp and the trigon, which is carried on the shoulder; perhaps also the lyre and the

[1] Reduced from a tracing.

[2] Reading [hieroglyphs].

[3] Reading [hieroglyphs].

lute. The foreign (?) musicians who play upon the great standing lyre (cf. III., v., vii.) are again present in their peculiar conical caps. The group before the gate seems also to be one of performers.

Parennefer.

Considering the very modest titles of Parennefer—

Craftsman of the King (Plate iii.)

He who washes the hands of His Majesty (Plates iii., vii.)—

it is not surprising that we have no other record of his existence than his tomb. Indeed, the display he makes is probably somewhat incommensurate with his position. By economizing on the size of his tomb he managed to have it decorated with sculptures designed for larger walls and illustrating the careers of bigger men than himself; but he did not court rebuff by obtruding his name. If the erasure of the name in the entrance is not accidental, it would appear that with all his prudence he failed to escape the reward of the overweening.

CHAPTER II.

THE TOMB OF TUTU (hieroglyphs).

A. Architectural Features.

Exterior (Plates xi., xiii., xv.).—This tomb (No. 8)[1] gives notice by its exterior aspect of the boldness which characterises its interior also. It combines the appearance of a rock-cut speos with that of a free-standing mastaba; for the excavators chose for their purpose an isolated table of rock and hollowed it out almost to the full extent of its dimensions. The rocky elevation not being sufficiently high, the floor of the tomb was carried below the outside level, and a long approach of the same width as the portal was cut to meet it; but as this alley was not prolonged to the dip of the hills, it remained a sunken area into which one descends by a short slope. Therefore only the portal gives the full height of the tomb; the rest of the façade is lower, rough in surface, and irregular in line.

This doorway is of the usual type; room was left on the jambs for seven vertical columns, but on the right side only five of these have been cut, and only the lower half of the sixth and seventh on the left. Both are now sadly damaged. (For translations and references see p. 31). The device on the lintel differs only in detail from other examples and is now largely effaced.[2] Three princesses with sistrums, their nurses, fan-bearers, and scribes, accompany the King and Queen, and it is possible that the Queen's sister found a place also. Above the scene a row of hieroglyphs ran both ways from the centre, wishing long life to "the Father, Ra-Aten" (later form of the cartouches), the King, and the Queen.

Interior (Plates xi., xii., xiii., xiv., xxxv., xxxvi.).[3]—In its main features the hall corresponds closely to the general type of large tomb (Part IV., p. 8), the great hall having been divided longitudinally into three aisles by two rows of columns. The broader intercolumniation of the central columns leaves an aisle in the axis of the tomb, which is further marked by the disposition of the architraves. The columns are twelve in number, each row of six terminating at both ends in pilasters of the familiar type. Or, rather, this would have been so had they been completely carried out; but the eastern corner of the hall is still an unhewn and irregular mass to half its height. The mode of excavation is here plainly visible; the mass being divided into blocks by deep trenches and then broken away by force.

The shrines for statues, in which the single cross-corridor tomb generally terminates, and which we saw planned for each of the three aisles in Tomb 16 (V., vii.), are in a still more advanced state of preparation in this tomb, all three having been begun on the south side.[4] As in that tomb, the portal of the middle shrine is simple, while those on either side of it have

[1] "The principal tomb behind Hadgi Qandeel" of Hay; No. 2 of Lepsius and L'Hôte.

[2] Shewn in *Mon. du culte d'Atonou*, I., Pl. lii. See also Mariette, *Voyage dans la Haute Égypte*, I., Pl. xviii.

[3] Plans and sections drawn with the most admirable care and completeness are given by Hay, *MSS.*, 29847, fol. 44, 49, 50; L'Hôte gives sketch-plans (*Papiers*, iii. 298); Lepsius (*D. Text*, II., p. 145), a plan and section; *Mon. du culte d'Atonou*, a plan (p. 107).

[4] For convenience and analogy I assume that the tomb faces west instead of north-west.

an entablature of the form familiar to us in Tombs 14 and 16; here, however, the panelling has been fully worked out in sculpture (cf. III., xix.). The designs which should have filled the panels have only been applied in paint. They consist of the cartouches of the god (in the later form) and of the King and Queen, adored by the deceased.[1] The most original feature of the tomb is seen in the arrangement of the third cross-aisle; for this part of the hall is screened off from the rest by a low corniced wall, which links all save the two middle columns of the row to one another and to the walls.[2] To emphasise the separate character of the space thus enclosed, it is raised slightly above the floor of the hall: low ramps, roughly hewn, outline the passage-way into the inner chamber, and, where the wall is omitted between the central columns, gate-jambs are set to mark the entrance.[3] The outer face of each of these jambs was adorned with three sculptured panels, of which the upper two show the King, Queen, and Merytaten worshipping Aten, and the lowest, Tutu.[4]

The surface of the ceiling and of the soffits is too much eaten away to retain any traces of pattern or colour, and the three columns of hieroglyphs which extend along the ceiling of the aisle are almost illegible (Pl. xii.: translation on p. 32). Those on the ceiling of the entrance, however, are well preserved (Plate xiv.: translation on p. 32).

The second chamber, invariably planned but rarely carried out in these tombs, is in no better plight here, being a mere gallery excavated to its full length but only to about half its height. The work of blocking out its columns has also been begun at the rear.

COLUMNS AND ARCHITRAVES (Plate xiv.).[5] Though the ornamentation which can be recovered from the columns in the tomb is surprisingly rich and new, they themselves are extremely unprepossessing and bare in their present condition. The only standing example of the type is unfinished, and so encrusted that all colour and much of the form is lost. Four columns are entirely removed, two are still half engaged in the rock, two others are imperfectly shaped, and the remaining three (including the fellow of the decorated column) have been left with a plain shaft. Fragments of two of the destroyed columns, however, still lie in the tomb and prove that their ornamentation was more or less complete. Traces of eight stems on the empty base on the north side of the aisle show that one of these decorated columns stood there, and the other was doubtless its fellow on the south side.[6]

The detailed decoration of the column, with bands of design adopted from the jeweller's art and without any relation at all to its papyrus form, is in keeping with that love of richness of

[1] Though inserted in the entablatures of the southern wall (Pl. xii.), they are decipherable only on the northern door. The state in which these shrines have been left can be gathered sufficiently from the plates. That in the furthest aisle has been cut back to the full height only in the entrance.

[2] The inner side of the wall is without fillet or cornice, but this is possibly due to incompleteness.

[3] The restoration of the upper part of the jamb in Plate xiv. is hypothetical. A lintel is unlikely, but a projecting capstone is possible; for the rebate suggests a gate, though there are no pivot-holes in the floor to receive it.

[4] For his prayer see pp. 31, 32.

[5] The column on the left (north) of the gateway in the back row. The moulding of the shaft into eight stems has been added from the fragments of its fellow; for in the standing column they are only indicated above the tablet.

[6] A column has been restored in Plate xii. (Section on EF) from the fragments. These show that one of the two destroyed columns was of exactly the same type as that now standing, though the decoration had not been fully carried out. On the capital only the band of uraei seems to have been cut, but the shaft was fully moulded and adorned as in Plate xiv. Each of the stems has three ribs. The other column (the capital and the lower part of the shaft extant) seems to have been without surface decoration; its eight stems are marked with sheaths at the foot.

form and colour which marks the period. No counterpart or precedent exists in Egypt.[1] The model seems to have been taken directly from the columns of the palace in the city, which the new love for faïence inlay had covered with ornamentation. Pictures of the palace show us that the royal bedroom and other of the private apartments of the King were furnished with columns, from the neck of which birds hung (ostensibly sculptured in the round, but in reality only in greater or less relief).[2] Consistently with these representations, the ruins of the palace actually yielded fragments of columns decorated with designs akin to those employed here.[3]

On the abacus of our column (Pl. xiv.) is a line of hieroglyphs between two rows of petals, spelling the King's names on the south side, and on the west that of the Aten (later form). The stems of the capital have at the top a row of the group of signs spelling the word *nḥḥ*, "eternity," and below this a row formed by a flower and its bud alternating with another seen full-face (convolvuli?). The sheathing leaves of the papyrus-heads are seen at the foot of each. The eight sections representing the inserted stems are here devoted to ornamentation; first and very incongruously by a row of uraei, then by a line of petals, finally by persea fruit and by corn-flowers. Below the neck of the column the floral design is again employed between plain bands. There follows a band made up of three or four bunches of five ducks, each hanging head downwards over a table (?) formed by two bundles of bound reeds. Each bunch of birds is separated from the next by a similar bundle set upright.

The tablet shows the King, Queen, and Merytaten worshipping.[4] In section the column resembles closely those already met with (cf. V., vii.).[5] The transverse architraves are inscribed as usual on the inner face which meets the eye. These inscriptions begin at the entrance, and, continuing above the east doorway, end in the centre in a sign common to both (A B E, A B D). The architrave above the three removed columns is also inscribed on the west side, but the beginning of the text is on the part of the transverse architrave adjacent to it (A B C). The formulary A B is common to all three (translation on p. 32).

Burial Vault (Pl. xiii.).—This tomb, like nearly all the others, shows signs of a makeshift place of burial. No thought was given to appearances; for a stairway was sunk between the last columns at the north end of the hall in such a way as to cut into all four. Yet considerable labour was expended in the effort to provide an inviolable sepulchre. A flight of twenty steps, passing under the rock floor at the seventh stair and curving slightly southwards to a landing, turns westwards there at a right angle and at the thirty-fourth step reaches a small chamber. From the floor of this the stairway continues almost due north and at the fifty-fourth step reaches a rough hole in which a fitting interment could scarcely be made.

B. Scenes and Inscriptions.

South Wall-Thickness (Plate xv.).—The shocking mutilation which this wall underwent a few years ago may be judged from the fact that, of the fifteen columns which covered the inner half from top to bottom, only a few scattered signs survive. Fortunately the text is recover-

[1] It is not unlikely, however, that the columns of Tomb 16 would have been treated in this way (V., vii., and p. 13).

[2] Wooden columns of pavilions, etc., may of course have shown fully modelled birds. Cf. II., xxxii., and the remarks on p. 35 of that volume.

[3] Cf. Petrie, *Tell el Amarna*, Pls. vii., ix., x., xi.

[4] In Plate xiv. I ought probably to have extended the tablet a little further to the left, leaving room for Merytaten, whose figure is hinted at there and is shown on the broken column.

[5] Similar columns in the city seem to have broken each stem up into four reeds (Petrie, *loc. cit.*).

able from copies and squeezes. (References and a translation are given on p. 25.)

North Wall - Thickness. (Plates xvi.,[1] xxxv.).

Previous copies are:—Hay, *MSS.*, 29814, fol. 37; 29847, fol. 15, 16; L'Hôte, *Papiers*, XI., 37; Lepsius, *D.*, III., 106 *b*; *Mon. du culte d'Atonou*, I., liv.

This scene is too stereotyped to call for much comment. The heads of the King and Queen and the figures of the princesses have been lost, through the fall of the slabs inserted with a view to the finer execution of these important parts. The vase in front of the stands has been chiselled away for some reason. Although the name of the princess whose figure remains is destroyed, it is easy to recognise in her the Queen's sister, Benretmut.

Below the scene is the text of the Shorter Hymn to the Aten. A translation of this, among other versions, has already been given in Part IV. (Pls. xxxii., xxxiii.; pp. 26–29). Behind the kneeling figure of Tutu we read:

"The Chamberlain (*ami-khent*), Tutu, *maakheru*, says 'Listen to the utterances of thy son, Ua-en-ra, O Aten, who fashioned him and set him to eternity!'"

A paw of the priest's leopard-skin shews under Tutu's arm.

West Wall: North Side (Plates xvii., xviii., xix.).

Previous copies:—L'Hôte, *Papiers*, III., 297 (the King)[2]; Lepsius, *D.*, III., 107 *b* (the King); *Mon. du culte d'Atonou*, I., Pls. lix., lx., lxi.

The subject of the reward and promotion of the faithful official, which found the more favour since it could be employed to reflect glory upon the King as much as upon the deceased, takes large dimensions here, occupying both halves of the west wall. Similar in scheme as are the pictures on either side of the doorway, great variety of detail is introduced. The speeches, liberally interpersed, give us a clue to the events which are commemorated, but they are sadly incomplete. The scenes occupy only about two-thirds of the whole length of the upper part of the wall on each side, but they extend over the doorway, meeting in the centre there.

The surface of the stone here, as everywhere in the tomb, is most unsightly and sadly corroded; indeed in the upper parts the sculpture is almost effaced. This is due to the countless bats that infest the tomb and make their presence known to the nose as unpleasantly as to the eye.[3]

A full half of the whole picture on each side is devoted to the King, his family, and his residence. For the two pictures of the palace, which together form a frame round the doorway, the reader is referred to p. 36.

The King and Queen are shown here, not leaning from the window, but seated outside it in the courtyard on stools. The border of uraei round the King's head-dress is unusual. The upper part of the Queen's figure has been lost with the fitted stone on which it was sculptured. Apparently she was dandling three of her daughters on her knees, for we see the feet of two of them and learn from the hieroglyphs that they were the eldest and youngest. The princess Benretmut again appears with her two dwarfs (in front of the attendants below the throne).

Tutu stands before the King, the courtyard being filled behind him with a throng of spectators, two royal chariots, and five fat oxen. These last, whether as coming from the royal farms or as presents to the King in accordance with the Eastern custom of gift for gift, are decorated with ribbons and plumes on their horns and

[1] Restored from Lepsius, with help from Hay and Bouriant for the text. The extent of the restoration can be seen from the photograph. Note the reading in col. 18, reversing the correction in Part IV., p. 26, note 8.

[2] I can find no other drawings of L'Hôte from this tomb (*Mon. du culte d'Atonou*, p. 107). So far as I know, he only made a few sketches in the Southern Tombs.

[3] When working here I cleared the tomb of them in an hour or two by a massacre of about a thousand victims—a good proof how easily the pests could be kept down or exterminated.

are accompanied by bearers of meats and drinks (Pl. xviii.). The audience comprises (from the top row downwards) the foreign representatives, the soldiery with their military standards, courtiers, scribes, and officials, including the mayor and the bearer of the fan, crook (?), and axe.

We are fortunate in learning what manner of speech actually passed between King and subject on such occasions as this, even though it has come down to us only in broken snatches. Had we heard it all, however, we should probably not have come much closer to King or people, for all the expressions are very stilted and formal.[1]

"The speech of the King of South [and North] Egypt, who lives on Truth, lord of the Two Lands, N. 'O [great ones] and heads of soldiery who stand before Pharaoh (L.P.H.)! My purpose is to confer an exceptional reward (lit. 'to perform the exceptional occasion of rewards') equal to a thousand (?) [of what are done] to men. He does not hear that it has been given to another noble of his, but I (?) give it to the Chamberlain, Tutu, because of his love for Pharaoh (L.P.H.) his lord. Lo! [2] I appoint . . . . of copper. . . . . captains of bowmen (?),[2] overseers of the horses, the scribes (?) of the King, overseers of soldiery, overseers of all the mercenary troops of all lands, attendants (?) of the dépôts of Pharaoh (L.P.H.), every Servitor of Aten of the Aten [3] in every place (?) . . . . South and North. Pharaoh (L.P.H.), his good lord, hath commanded that all nobles and heads of the entire land cause to be given to him silver, gold, ... clothing, vessels of copper, [they ?] being due from you like [4] the [royal] levies (?) . . . . the projects which [Pharaoh] (L.P.H.) makes for the Great Servitor of Pharaoh (L.P.H.). No noble knoweth how to do it unto his [favourite ?]. He is found in [5] the (?) seat of the Servitors (?). One (i.e. the King) listens to him in the day. Behold! Pharaoh (L.P.H.), his good lord, is setting [6] his (?)[3] great nobles, and likewise every noble whom Pharaoh (L.P.H.) hath fashioned in the entire land, to give to him silver, gold, clothes, vessels of copper, cattle (?), every year.'"

Tutu replies to this gracious speech of the King with a stream of far-fetched flattery which has come down to us only in fragments.

"The speech of the Chief Servitor . . . . . . of Nefer-kheperu-ra, the Chamberlain, Tutu. 'O my good lord, a ruler of character, abounding in wealth, great in duration, rich in monuments! Thy every command is done: they come to pass as (in the case of) Aten, the lord, the living Aten, whose command is done in heaven every day. Thou art my life; my health is in seeing thee, O million of [2] Niles, my (?) . . . . [to] him who hath placed him in his heart. O (thou) flock of birds . . . . . . at every season, great of reward of silver and gold for his two hands (?) more than one can carry on his forearm.[4]

"'The living Aten dawns [for] thee so as to gratify thy heart daily, O Ua-en-ra, beautiful like Aten, thriving [3] in life . . . . eternally . . . . thy gleaming father, that fashioned thee. May he grant to thee that he shines, and that all that are upon the earth (?) may see his rays, mankind, cattle of all kinds, and all that go upon their feet. They see Aten dawning [4] every (?) [day] . . . . . . giving it (?) to thee more than festivals (?) or the banks of streams, the number of (?) the sands, the hairs (?) of a feather. They are for thee, the loved one of the [5] Aten . . . . [great in] his duration (?). Thou art fixed in his rank eternally, O Ra whom Aten fashioned, N.! Thou createst progeny by myriads; [6] thou makest . . . . They are not brought (?); they do not come with strides (?), they do not give birth to (?) a million descendants. (But) thou art thriving like the Aten and living for ever and ever.'"

After his reception by the King, Tutu retires outside the gate of the courtyard, where the sentries sit at their posts with the standards of the regiment planted by them on a stand (top register; cf. Plates xx., xxx.). Here too the chariots of the high officials wait to convey them home. A few retainers and a band of female musicians prepare to accompany the palace servants, who lead away four fat oxen and carry the vessels and meats of the King's bounty.

Before he turns homeward, Tutu addresses yet a few words to his fellow-officials.

"The Chamberlain, Tutu, saith to the . . . . to thy resting-place of eternity (?) . . . . Pharaoh (L.P.H.) . . . captains of bowmen (?), overseers of the horses, overseers of [soldiery ?] . . . . every Servitor of Aten of the Aten . . . . in the entire land, men . . . . Pharaoh, my (?) [lord, commands that ye shall give] great riches (?), the rewards of N., to his servant

[1] The King's speech (in seven columns) reads from right to left, as if issuing from his mouth: that of Tutu in the contrary direction.

[2] Cf. Pl. xviii., col. 2.

[3] Reading [hieroglyphs].

[4] Reading [hieroglyphs].

who listens to his good teaching of proper life, the riches which he (?) gives to [me?] in the form of an impost (?) on . . . . to distinguish me by favours more than any (other) favourite of his."

Probably the full design would have included the house of Tutu or the temple of Aten.

The lower half of the wall contains only a short prayer (Plate xix.), separated by a blank space of some length from a figure of Tutu, standing in prayer with uplifted hands.[1] For a translation, see p. 27.

West Wall: South Side (Plates xix., xx., xxi.).

Previous copy: *Mon. du culte d'Atonou*, I., Plates lvi., lvii., lviii.

In this, the companion picture to the last scene, the King and Queen receive their servant at the cushioned balcony, from which they lean to confer the proposed honours on him.[2] The supposed speech of the King on the occasion is recorded in two columns as follows:—

"[The speech of the King of South and North Egypt] living on Truth, Lord of the Two Lands, N., [to?] the Chamberlain, Tutu. 'Lo! I appoint thee my Chief Servitor of Nefer-kheperu-ra [in the temple of] Aten in Akhetaten, doing it to thee for love of thee, because thou art my chief henchman (*sdm ásh*) who listens to my instruction (*bis*). Verily every commission which thou performest, my heart is content therewith. I give to thee the office, saying, "Eat thou the rations of Pharaoh (L. P. H.!), thy lord, in the temple of Aten."'"[3]

By this formal announcement Tutu is raised to sacerdotal rank, second only to that of the high-priest. Golden collars, sandals, and cap are brought and fitted on him. Meanwhile he makes a lengthy reply, lavishing encomiums on the King.

"[Said by?] the Chamberlain (?), Tutu: 'O Ruler who makes monuments to his father (?) and duplicates (?) them![4] Thou createst by generations and generations . . . . [Thou art] as Ra, as the living Aten who bare thee. Thou shalt pass his long existence [2]. He dawns in heaven to give existence to thee, my lord, complete (?) like the Father, comprehending, exact, and searching hearts. Thy [hands?] are like the rays of Aten, so that thou establishest mankind [3] wondrously, O my lord! The Aten gives to thee these many *sed*-festivals; he makes thee his heir. For thou art his child; thou didst issue from him, Ua-en-ra, an image of eternity, who [4] upholds Ra and propitiates Aten, causing the land to comprehend him that made it. Thou illuminest his name for the *rekhyt*; thou bringest to him the produce of his rays. He makes acclamation for thee in heaven [5] for joy on the day on which thou appearest. The entire land trips to thee, Syria, Ethiopia, and all the nations. Their hands are (outstretched) for thee in praise to thy *ka*. They are beseeching life as suppliants; [6] they are saying, "Grant to us breath." Terror of thee hath closed their nostrils, they are bound (?) in their good fortune (?). Lo! thy will is in them as a scare; thy roaring makes their limbs to fail as flame devours wood. [7] The rays of the Aten shine on thee eternally. Make thy monuments stable as heaven and make thy appearance in them for ever; (for) as long as the Aten exists thou shalt exist, living and thriving for ever.'"

This outburst of loyal feeling is shared by the bystanders, and a short expression of it has been assigned to each group by the artist (Plate xx.). The foreigners, standing in an attitude of respect, speak through their Egyptian interpreter—

"The tributaries (?) of every foreign land say, 'O living Ra, Nefer-kheperu-ra, [we] are subject [to thee] for ever and ever.'"

The soldiers grasping their standards are styled—

"Those carrying (lit. 'wearing') the *bht* standard, who are followers of the Majesty who is beautiful of face, at sight of whom there is life, Nefer-kheperu-ra."

Next in order are their leaders in ordinary dress—

"The great ones and captains of soldiery who stand before Pharaoh (L.P.H.!) and say, 'O Ruler, brightness of the Aten, abounding in wealth . . . .'"

Then come—

"the scribes . . . . [saying] 'Say ye, "Health to Nefer-kheperu-ra, the Aten [who establishes] mankind and brings into being the generations!"'"

[1] *Mon. du culte d'Atonou*, I., Pl. lix.

[2] For remarks on the picture of the palace see pp. 36–7. The Queen, who was wearing the flat-topped head-dress, was accompanied by her three daughters, who must have been grouped about her in much the same way as in Plate xxix.

[3] This was the formula of induction to priestly office, and was exactly followed at the investiture of the high priest also (I., v.).

[4] Emending to . The phrase occurs twice below similarly injured.

Nearest to Tutu are the high officials; the note appended to them is—

"Said by the great ones, the companions,[1] 'How admirable are thy projects, Nefer-kheperu-ra. How prosperous is he who is in thy (?) . . . . . O fair child of the Aten! Thou wilt bring generations into being. Thou art to eternity like the Aten.'"

Near the side door of the courtyard the two royal chariots are in waiting, and one of the charioteers joins the general laudation (Plate xix.).

"Said by the charioteer[2] ' . . . . beautiful like the Aten who gave him being, Nefer-kheperu-ra, who fashions mankind and gives existence to generations. He is fixed as the heaven in which Aten is.'"

The scene which takes place when Tutu leaves the courtyard and finds a crowd of friends and retainers waiting outside to escort him home is next depicted. Tutu's dwelling seems to have been in or near the temple where the functions of his new office were to be discharged, for that building is presented here as the goal of movement.[3]

The picture tells its story in a very confused way, but a little study will show that the three registers which end at the temple contain the main action. The rest is accessory. At the top of the wall we see the spot outside the palace wall where the military post is set. Two regiments seem to be on guard and display their standards on altar-like platforms.[4] An officer is either replacing one or removing it to take part in the ceremony. Two chariots are stationed close by: the horses have been unharnessed and are feeding from their mangers in pairs.

The two lowest registers seem to represent scenes witnessed prior to the ceremony before the palace gates. Servants and soldiers are dashing to and from the palace in chariots, conveying messages and officials. The major-domo stands at the gate and demands the business of those entering. As usual, a good stock of viands and water is piled up here in charge of soldiers (?), perhaps the rations of the watchmen or the guard. The object in front of them seems to offer some kind of shield against wind or dust.[5] A scribe, accompanied by his apprentice, is arriving on foot. On the left the service of the temple, whether ordinary or exceptional, is being provided for.

In the centre of the picture Tutu is seen returning in glory from the palace. As he emerges from the gate, decked out in his new finery, he is demonstratively welcomed by his subordinates, his charioteer, and others. They fall down before the King's favourite or dance with excitement, and Tutu addresses them:—

"A laudation [of] . . . . . the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, N., by the Chamberlain, Tutu, when he was appointed (?) Chief Servitor of N. in . . . . . in the temple of Aten in Akhetaten. The Chamberlain, Tutu, saith to his many subordinates 'See the benefits which Pharaoh (L.P.H.!), my lord, has done unto me. For I . . . . saying truth, not allowing any overstepping (?) in any commission of my lord when he sends me thereon. For indeed I do according to that which goeth forth from his mouth.'"

This speech immediately calls forth the loyal response:—

"O Ruler, who maketh monuments to his father and duplicates them! May Nefer-kheperu-ra have health. O Aten, grant a million of *sed*-festivals to him, thy child, whose nature is as thine! Grant that he may fulfil thy duration!"

Tutu mounts his chariot and goes on his way accompanied by detachments of police and groups

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[1] Read . Cf. Pls. xxv., col. 12; xxxii., col. 4.

[2] Spelt in V., p. 10. The first sign must have been omitted here by the scribe.

[3] The termination of the sky above seems to show that the picture is complete, though the wall extends much further. This is the only plan of the temple in the Southern Tombs (an elevation is shown in IV., xviii., xx.) and it should be compared with I. x.A, which it closely resembles. Even in this small picture the salient features of the King's stela, the screening wall behind the second pylon, etc., are made clear. The smaller temple is given more prominence and the building is more compact. Trees planted in boxes are set round the temple.

[4] The standards on the left seem slightly unusual in form.

[5] Cf. I., xviii.

of friends and by his wife (?) and her women, all on foot. The temple servants receive him at the building and again Tutu must invoke a blessing on the King:—

"The Chief Servitor of N. [in the temple of Aten in] Akhetaten, the Chamberlain, Tutu, saith 'O Ruler, who [makes monuments] to his father (?) and duplicates (?) [them] . . . . '"

A prayer and praying figure of Tutu is the only decoration of the lower part of the wall (Plate xxi.; translation on p. 27). Probably it was introduced in order to fill the vacant space, for Tutu's tomb seems to have proved too spacious for the stock designs. The only connection with the scene above is that Tutu is arrayed in his collars and festal cap, as if fresh from his honours.

C. Tutu.

The texts, which are interspersed with the scenes in this tomb with such unusual profusion, do not bring the personality of Tutu much nearer to us. The distinctive functions of a Chief Servitor are as little known to us as those of an *Ami-Khent*, probably for the good reason that they indicate positions of wide authority in the temple and at court, which were all the higher because few bureaucratic duties were attached to them. We gather that he was almost, if not quite, the highest official in the realm, enjoying the King's closest confidence. As such, his activities had the widest range, and we have an instructive account of them in the short inscription on Plate xix. (see p. 27). Both the quantity and contents of the texts in his tomb justify us in concluding that if any man in Akhetaten entered into the new "Teaching of Life," and made application of its zeal for Truth in his public life, it was he.

It is generally in vain that we seek for some touch of the outside world to give body to these shadows of men which the tomb-scenes throw upon history, and therefore we cannot pass by a testimony to Tutu's existence and activity which the Tell el Amarna Letters seem to contain.[1] There we find Aziru, a somewhat turbulent kinglet in the north of Syria or the interior of Phœnicia,[2] and his son also, writing to one Du-u-du in Egypt as an intermediary with the King. Aziru addresses him in the most deferential way as "my lord" and "my father,"[3] and otherwise shows that he had come to know him intimately, and in all likelihood personally, and appreciated fully his influence at court. Tutu's claim that he was "chief mouthpiece of all the foreign lands" (Pl. xix.) makes it almost certain that he is this Dudu whom the kings of Syria recognised as the real power behind the throne in their affairs. It makes it probable, too, that Tutu was a man of years and position before Akhenaten came to the throne, and that the young King, whose interests were concentrated on Egypt, gladly relied on the diplomatic wisdom of his father's confidant.[4]

It is, perhaps, a sign of the special acquaintance of Tutu with the King's mind that in several inconspicuous places in his tomb (the outer lintel, the abacus, the entablature), where they were scarcely legible, the cartouches of the Aten are given in the later form, which avoids the name of Horus, and which came into universal use in the tombs soon after the removal to the northern necropolis. (Here, too, in the tombs of Mahu and Any.) It seems, then, that

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[1] Knudtzon, *El-Amarna Tafeln*, Nos. 158, 164, 169 (Winckler, *Tell el Amarna Letters*, Nos. 44, 45, 52). Dudu is mentioned also in Knudtzon, No. 167 (Winckler, 47a, p. 408). See also Steindorff, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, I., p. 331.

[2] Knudtzon, *ib.*, p. 56.

[3] Khai (Huy?) he addresses as "my brother," writing in a more familiar strain (Knudtzon, No. 166. Winckler, No. 46). In the reign of Amenhetep III., Amanappa is addressed by Ribaddi, King of Gebal, in the same way as Dudu.

[4] Stela 211 of the British Museum shows one Thuthu ([hieroglyphs]), Acting-Scribe and Steward in the house of King Aÿ, offering to Sokaris of Re-stau and making a *dy hetep seten* prayer for his father Khonsu; but this official is not likely to be identical with our Tutu.

the tomb was decorated at a time when the innovation was being introduced cautiously (shortly after the birth of the third daughter).

Tutu's titles are :

1. (Ami-Khent). "Chamberlain" (?). (*Passim.* "Chamberlain of the Lord of the Two Lands" in Pl. xii.)

2. "Chief Servitor of N. in . . . . . of the Temple of Aten in Akhetaten" (Pl. xv., col. 7 ; Pl. xix. ; twice on Pl. xx.).[1]

3. "Chief Servitor of N. in the barge" (Pl. xiv.).

4. "Overseer of all Commissions of the Lord of the Two Lands" (Jamb. Pl. xv.).

5. "Overseer of all works of His Majesty" (*ib.*).

6. "Overseer of the silver and gold of the Lord of the Two Lands" (*ib.*).

7. "Overseer of the Treasury . . . . the Aten in the Temple of Aten in Akhetaten" (Pl. xii.).

8. "Chief mouthpiece of the entire land" (Pl. xix.).

[1] The title is not clear, the short gap being plain or possible in all four occurrences. Tutu is never "Chief Servitor of Aten," but he is described as "Great Servitor" (King's speech, Pl. xvii.), "Servitor of Ua-en-ra" (Pl. xix.) and "Servitor (?) . . . . Nefer-kheperu-ra" (Pl. xvii.).

CHAPTER III.

THE TOMB OF AŸ (hieroglyphs).

The tomb of Aÿ (No. 25)[1] is the most westerly of the inscribed tombs. Its deep and roomy approach easily fills with driftsand, and though Hay speaks of it as "the tomb opened by me," it was not fully cleared till 1893, and till 1883 was filled with later (New Kingdom?) burials and an enormous mass of broken sherds. Two diverging roads lead from it to the city.

A. Architectural Features.

Previous plans:—Hay, *MSS.*, 29847, fol. 42 (fairly complete); *Mon. du culte d'Atonou*, I., p. 26.

Exterior (Plates xxii., xxiv.).—A broad approach cut through the rock-slope leads gently down to the door, which is of the usual character, though of such larger proportions as befits a tomb of the size. The framing of the door was decorated in the usual way, but the lintel is now so weather-worn as scarcely to allow us to distinguish the King and Queen offering to Aten, whose disc occupies the centre. They are followed by three princesses, and no doubt Benretmut was also included. The jambs (Pl. xxiv.) are inscribed with prayers in six columns on either side, but the upper parts are very weather-worn. A panel at the foot shows Aÿ and his wife in a kneeling attitude.[2] (For Aÿ's head see Pl. xxxi., and for a translation of the texts, p. 32.)

Interior (Plates xxii., xxiii.).—The entrance, pierced through a thick wall of rock, admits to a hall of which little more than half has been excavated, but which was planned on an ambitious scale. The two most striking features of the tomb are the crowding together of the columns and their brilliant whiteness. Had not the hall suffered sadly in the general mutilation of 1890, the tomb, in spite of its unfinished state, would have been by far the most attractive in the necropolis. Indeed, it may still claim the title on account of its size, its purity, the beauty of the remaining sculpture, and the freedom from bats which it has so far enjoyed.

The excavation of the hall has been completed roughly on the east side, and on the west as much has been cleared as sufficed to set free the columns of the central aisle. In addition, the cross aisle nearest the door has been run out to about its full length, though at a diminishing height, and the upper half of one other column has been roughly shaped.[3] The columns in the eastern half of the tomb number twelve, arranged in three rows of four. Of these twelve only the two columns nearest the door in the central aisle have been finished. The rest have only been given a rough contour, which differs very widely in the ten examples. The ungraceful thickness adopted for the columns, which contrast very unfavourably with those of Tomb 16, is combined

[1] No. 1 of Lepsius and L'Hôte. As the entrance faces down-stream I have assumed this to be due north. For the position and roads see IV. xiii.

[2] The figures differ scarcely at all from those given on Pl. xxxi. They are shown in *Mon. du culte d'Atonou*, I., Pl. xv. In all cases Aÿ, when on the left, carries his insignia in his outstretched hand, but when on the right, over his left shoulder.

[3] The usual method of commencing with the ceiling was followed. Parallel red lines are marked on it down the centre of the longitudinal aisles, from which, no doubt, plumb-lines were dropped to keep the columns and walls perpendicular. The completion of one half of the tomb shows a vivid apprehension of that untimely arrest of the work which actually befell.

with so narrow an intercolumniation that the hall is a mere forest of columns, between whose bases one can scarcely walk with ease. If they have little claim to beauty, however, there is a not unfitting sense of gloomy mystery in their dark and mingling shadows. Viewed from the doorway down the broader aisle of axis, the tomb has a much more light and prepossessing appearance (Pl. xxxvii.).

Neither the door at the east end of the first cross-aisle nor that in the axis has been pierced beyond the door-cheeks, and only the latter has been inscribed. Besides this door, the outer portal, and the two sides of the entrance-passage, a part of the north wall is the only surface which has received sculpture.

Columns (Plate xxiii.).—The finished columns show the usual features of the type most common in the necropolis. As in Tomb 16, three ribs instead of one are marked on the stem, and here deeply, foreshadowing the later division of each stem into four. The tablets, as usual, face diagonally towards the entrance in the first pair, at right angles to the axis in the next.[1] These tablets are adorned with designs showing standing figures of Aÿ and his wife adoring cartouches of the god and the royal pair which are set between them.[2] The tablets are incised and the inscriptions painted in appropriate colours. Otherwise the columns are pure white, no colour apparently being proposed. The abaci of the four finished columns were inscribed on the side facing the aisle, and also on the north side in the case of the first pair; but these inscriptions have been ruthlessly hacked away, and only a few hieroglyphs remain. The two duplicates published by Lepsius[3] are probably those on the inner sides of the northern pair. The titles on two more published from the notes of Lepsius[4] are from the north side of these columns and read similarly: "The bearer of the fan on the right hand of the King, dwelling in the heart of the King in the entire land, excellent satisfier (𓌻) of the heart of his lord, the acting scribe of the King whom he loves, the father of the god, Aÿ, living anew." Remains of that on the west side of the second column on the east show that this formed a third variant; but the fragment yields no meaning (Pl. xxxiv.).

For a translation of the inscription in coloured hieroglyphs on the two architraves (Pl. xxxii.) see p. 34.

Ceiling.—This was decorated in the usual way. In the entrance the patterns are effaced, but the inscriptions are still partly legible. (Plate xxv.: translation on p. 34). Both are admirably preserved in the hall (Plate xxxiii.: translations on pp. 34, 35).[5] The wine-coloured background with the prevailing blue of the bead-pattern gives a rich appearance to the tomb, which the whiteness of the columns enhances. The designs and colours employed can be fully learnt from Pl. xxiii.[6]

Burial-Place.—No second chamber being provided, the place of sepulture was hewn out as usual in the corner of the hall. A flight of twenty-nine steps bends round sharply to the west at the twenty-second step and tails off into a rough hole, now almost entirely filled with a large flint boulder. There is thus no trace of any use having been made of this poor provision for burial, and this accords, of course, with Aÿ's supposed history.

B. Scenes and Inscriptions.

East Wall-Thickness (Plates xxv., xxvi., xxxi., xlii., xliii., xliv.).

Previous copies:—Hay, *MSS.*, 29847, fol. 65; L'Hôte, *Papiers*, III., 297 (a few notes); Lepsius, *D. Text*, II., p. 142 (Queen's titulary); *Mon. du culte d'Atonou*, I., xviii., xix., xx. (photograph).

[1] Of these latter, one is blank and the other uncoloured.

[2] See *Mon. du culte d'Atonou*, I., p. 41.

[3] L., *D.*, III., 105 *d* (East Column), *e* (West Column. Reproduced on Pl. xxxi. Cf. Hay, *MSS.*, 29847, fol. 65).

[4] L., *D. Text*, II., p. 145.

[5] Published in *Mon. du culte d'Atonou*, I., Pl. xxii.

[6] Hay, *MSS.*, 29814, fol. 11; 29847, fol. 15 (coloured).

This wall offers one more example of the royal family at worship. It has suffered greatly in the upper portion through exposure and not less by loss of patching-stones and modern violence. The Queen, it can be seen, was wearing the *Atef*-crown. Three daughters are shown, as well as the princess Benretmut,[1] accompanied by her two dwarfs, "The vizier of the Queen, Erneheh ('To Eternity')" and "The vizier of his mother, Para ('The Sun')."[2]

The figures of the royal pair show good modelling, though the sculptor's unhappy trick of sinking the figure less deeply below the skirt, and so giving a sudden diminution of the leg at that point, mars the effect in the case of the King (Plate xl.).

Lepsius and Hay have preserved for us the titulary of the Queen, of which only the final signs now remain :—

"The heiress, great in favour, lady of grace, sweet of love, mistress of South and North, fair of face, gay with the two plumes, beloved of the living Aten, the chief wife of the King whom (he) loves, lady of the Two Lands, great of love, Nefertiti, living for ever and ever."

The lower part of the wall is occupied by a long prayer accompanied by the kneeling figures of Aÿ and his wife (Pls. xxv., xxxix.). These figures, like those on the opposite wall, are distinguished by remarkable precision of modelling, and, being perfectly preserved, show the art of Akhetaten at its very best, retaining its *bizarre* features without over-exaggeration, and presenting us, we feel confident, with a near approach to a true portrait of the pair. When fully coloured the effect must have been much enhanced; for though the garments of both husband and wife are pure white, the collars, bracelets, armlets, and, in the case of Tyi, the cap and fillet, were bright with varied colour, set off, in addition, by the masses of minutely divided hair.[3]

The text is in excellent preservation, as the photographs show. (A translation is given on pp. 28, 29.)

West Thickness (Hymn to the Aten). Plates xxvii., xli.

Previous copy :—*Mon. du culte d'Atonou*, I., Pls. xvi., xvii.

The inner half of this wall (which would not be covered by the open door) is occupied by a text in thirteen long columns and by figures of Aÿ and Tyi similar to those just noticed. This text, the most poetical and lofty that the cult of Aten called forth, has acquired the name *par excellence* of The Hymn to the Aten. Only the far worse fate which has befallen other documents as precious can reconcile us to the form in which we now possess it. As it was deeply buried in sand, both Hay and Lepsius shirked the task of excavation and left the whole uncopied.[4] It was not till 1883 that Bouriant uncovered it, and the copy that he then made and revised in 1884

[1] The opening signs of her title are, of course, [hieroglyphs]. The *bnr* sign, though injured, seems to have the form given it in Plate xxxi. (where, however, the final ⌓ has dropped out of the plate). Being misled by a supposed analogy in the necropolis, I was at first more inclined to read the sign *nzm*, as others had done, till set right by Sethe (*Ä. Z.*, 1905, pp. 134–5). Cf. p. 4 above.

[2] The first dwarf is female, as the determinative of the name shows. Though no distinction in dress is noticeable, the phrase "his mother" suggests that the second is a boy. "Vizier" (if this translation is correct) may have been chosen in jest as the least applicable title, like the names. They recur in Plates xvii., xxviii.; II., v., vii., viii. and V., iii.

[3] I speak as if the figures were uninjured. Unhappily they are no longer so, though but a few years have passed since the protecting sand was removed. Since M. Jequier photographed them (*Mon. du culte d'Atonou*, I., Pl. xx.) Tyi's face has received deliberate injury, and the year after my own photograph was taken her face was again the object of a spiteful attack, levelled apparently at the Department of Antiquities, with whose administration the village happened to be offended. It is plain also from details of the jewellery given in the above publication that the colour also is rapidly disappearing and will soon be virtually gone. See Pl. xxxiv. for Tyi's collar and bracelet, chiefly from the above source. Aÿ's collar and armlet are plain yellow, and his bracelet similar to that of his wife.

[4] "On the right side of the doorway is a large table of hieroglyphs, but to uncover it would be a great labour."—Hay.

was to prove the only complete copy we possess.[1] A few years later, and apparently before any further copy was taken, a full third of the inscription was destroyed.

Considerable portions of the hymn, however, are paralleled in other laudations of Aten, where they are probably as original as here. For, in all likelihood, neither this nor any other hymn is a set composition which had currency apart from, or previous to, its use in the tomb. These texts either borrow from an authoritative composition or are compiled from the current liturgical phrases and dogmatic statements of the new "Teaching," which was evidently zealously imparted in Akhetaten under the personal guidance of the King.[2] If his extreme youth at accession be accepted, it becomes difficult to assign the literary or philosophical form of the religion to him.[3] The poet or prophet of the movement and his works probably lie and will ever lie hidden from history, nor would mere knowledge of his name avail us much.

The photograph on Plate i. makes further remarks on the admirable kneeling figures of the pair unnecessary.

In Plate xxxiv. I have shown the jewellery of Tyi. The colour is now almost erased, and a little restoration has been necessary. Dark blue is represented by solid black. Where no colour is assigned, light yellow is to be assumed. Tyi's flesh colour is a warm yellow, her cap light yellow, with a lost pattern in red line.

North Wall: East Side (Plates xxvi., xxviii.–xxxi., xxxvi., xlii.–xliv.[4]).

Previous copies[5]:—Hay, *MSS.*, 29814, fol. 41, 58: 29847, fol. 67; L'Hôte, *Papiers*, III., 297 (inscriptions only); Prisse, *Histoire de l'Art*, I., xxxix.[6]; Lepsius, *D.*, III., 103, 104, 105 *a*, 106 *a*, 111; *D. Text*, II., p. 144; *Mon. du culte d'Atonou*, I., xxiii., xxiv.[7]

This scene, representing the reward of the King's favourite, has its sister pictures, as we have seen, in the tombs of Parennefer and Tutu.[8] No one scene is the original or model, so far as we can see; all are modifications of a picture which probably existed only in the imagination of the chief artist of Akhetaten.

The Palace[9] (Plates xxviii., xxix., xlii.).—As always, the balcony occupied by the royal family is the dominant feature of the scene. Behind it is the palace and in front the crowd accompanying Aÿ.

[1] Bouriant, *Deux jours de fouilles*, p. 2.

[2] Compare the recurring phrase, "He rose up early and taught me."

[3] No progress is visible in these respects from the year of the first proclamation.

[4] The heads (Pl. xxvi.) are from careful tracings. But the photographs are a still more secure guide. Plate xxviii. is from my own scale-drawing. Plates xxix., xxx., owing to the present state of the wall, have been based on the plates of Lepsius, but corrected in numberless points of detail from the wall itself. Even where this failed me I have sometimes ventured to restore those forms of outline and facial expression which are so stereotyped at El Amarna and which the plates of Lepsius so often fail to preserve. No deeper question is ever involved in these changes, I believe. The upper parts of Aÿ and Tyi have been added from the photograph of the block in the Cairo Museum (Pl. xxxviii.). The dancers, the gifts (Pl. xxix.), the enlargement and the gifts (Pl. xxx.) are added from scale-drawings, and the group round Aÿ (Pl. xxxi.) is reproduced from a tracing. This combination of methods is responsible for a few minor omissions; e.g. the legs of Merytaten below her sister's chin, and the broad ribbon depending from the Queen's head-dress. Such inexactitudes can be corrected by the photographs, which, with all other full-plate negatives in this volume, were taken for me by Herr Schliephack, of the *Neue Photog. Gesellschaft.*

[5] I do not include the amusing travesties of picture and interpretation by Villiers Stuart, *Nile Gleanings*, chapter vii. Squeezes of the wall by Lepsius (see Steindorff *Blütezeit*, p. 156), and by L'Hôte (*Papiers*, xix., 4) are preserved at Berlin and Paris.

[6] Evidently appropriated from Lepsius. A furnished room has been invented to fill up the corner cut off by the architrave!

[7] These are clearly copies of the plates of Lepsius with a few alterations in the texts, etc. The changes are later than the injuries to the wall; so that the plates, where they agree with Lepsius, do not strengthen the evidence.

[8] Perhaps also in that of Maÿ (V., Pl. v., and p. 3). If so, it supplies, so far as it is preserved, the lacking sub-scene which showed the river-gardens of the palace and its landing-stage, as well as further by-scenes outside the palace and on the banks.

[9] A comparison of the plans of the palace will be found below on p. 36.

A second and generally similar representation of the palace was to have occupied the same wall on the other side of the doorway, forming part, no doubt, as in the tomb of Tutu, of a similar depiction of the King's bounty. As that wall was still in the rough, the only part of the scene that could be engraved was that which extended over the doorway, meeting our scene in the middle and forming a pendant to it (Pls. xxviii., xxxvi.).[1] The two pictures are separated by a vacant space where the sky is seen to terminate on a mountain in the usual way. Below it are two trees, in which I am inclined to see a corner of the palace garden rather than the mythological sycamores suggested by M. Maspero.[2]

On both sides of the centre two self-contained buildings are shown. One contains two rooms entered from outside; apparently, from the contents, it comprises a store-house and larder, the more so that servants sit round it at their ease preparing and eating food. The other and larger building I judge to represent the harem or that part of it assigned to the female servants or slaves; for only women are seen in it and guards stand close by all the doors. It is divided into two suites of rooms which do not communicate, each comprising a small hall with one column and two small chambers opening out of it. We have already noticed that each great house, whether royal or private, seemed to possess a band of female musicians. As the women shown here are all busily engaged in the practice of music and dancing, and the walls both of the hall and the closets are hung with musical instruments of all kinds, we must conclude that this was a prominent part of the duties or recreations of the women of the house. The instruments include the lyre, the lute, the triangular harp, and the standing harp and lyre.

[1] It will be seen that this part of Plate xxviii. is reproduced on a larger scale than the other. The restorations are from Hay and Lepsius.

[2] See Part III., p. 31. There is one tree in III., xxxiii.; three in Pls. xvii., xix.

It will be noticed that the women in the upper room of both houses have a peculiar mode of wearing the hair, by dividing it into one or more tresses curling at the ends. Nor is this mere *négligé*, for the women in the rooms below wear the hair in an ordinary Egyptian mode. This lock or tress is quite un-Egyptian, but is familiar to us in men of Hittite race and known also in Syrian women.[3] In addition one woman at least wears the flounced Syrian skirt.[4] It will be noticed also that the trigon and great standing lyre are seen only in the upper rooms. The latter is found only in the hands of foreigners,[5] and the former is probably un-Egyptian too.[6]

Now we know from the Tell el Amarna Letters that Akhenaten had a second wife, daughter of Dushratta, King of Mitanni, of whom no sign or hint is given in Egyptian chronicles. That this eastern wife whom Akhenaten had taken for diplomatic reasons would be practically a prisoner of the harem is more than likely,[7] and that her women should have their quarters and live apart from the Egyptian women would be natural enough. Nor need her women be of her own race necessarily; the artist at least would be content to show Syrian slave-girls.[8]

[3] Petrie, *Racial Types*, Nos. 30, 31 (Ascalon ?). L., *D.*, III., 166, shows that the Hittite women dressed the hair in much the same way as the men. Cf. Müller, *Asien und Europa*, p. 330.

[4] This is repeatedly seen in the similar pictures Pls. xvii., xix., which, so far as their state allows, are in harmony with the scenes here.

[5] See Pl. vi., and Part III., Pls. v., vii. For the conical cap which they wear see Petrie, *Racial types*, No. 188a (N. Syrian ?).

[6] Cf. Pl. vi. It is seen in the hands of Bes and of a woman with tresses (Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, I., p. 469). Bes is said to be a Semitic god, and the woman seems to be a Hittite or Cretan.

[7] Cf. Winckler, *Tell el Amarna Letters*, No. 1.

[8] We find indeed that, in the last reign, Dushratta repulsed an invasion of the Hittites and sent a boy and girl of the prisoners to Amenhetep III. (Knudtzon 17, = Winckler 16). II. xxxvii., too, shows how probable it is that there were Hittite and Syrian slave-girls in the King's harem.

For the first time, therefore, we seem to have evidence of the presence of Tadukhipa in Akhetaten. In this harem of the foreigners in the left-hand picture, an older woman seems to be instructing two younger girls to play a duet on the lyre and lute. In the adjacent room or story an Egyptian woman is similarly teaching a companion her first steps, while two others, laying their instruments aside, partake of a meal together. In the other picture, one of the foreign women is combing out her friend's tresses; a third eats from a table, and others dance to the sound of a harp. Their Egyptian sisters are amusing themselves in much the same way. Two are dancing, one accompanying her own movements on the lute, while two companions bear their part on the lute and harp. In spite of the small scale and the defaced condition of the wall, the shuffling gait of the Oriental dancer is suggested as successfully as the lazy postures of the eunuchs outside.

The Balcony.—However wearisome the repetition of this scene may have become, we could ill spare this representation of the Queen and her little daughters mutually caressing one another. For though such pictures were not exceptional, few have come down to our time in any completeness. The youngest of the three can scarcely have been old enough to walk at this time, as indeed her lack of hair suggests. Meanwhile the parents themselves are treated as nurslings of the Aten, "the Father," who supports them by his hands with even more solicitude than they themselves show for their offspring. The features of all are well preserved and are likely to be more authentic here, in the tomb of the Queen's parents, than anywhere else.

An astonishing, and indeed a unique, feature of the representation is that the whole family is absolutely nude, so far as we can see. One can hardly believe that the reverence for reality with which the King is credited led him so far as this, but must suppose that he shared with his artist his admiration for the human form.[1]

The Queen's sister, Benretmut, though relegated to the background, is also present to see her father and mother honoured. She is to be seen, accompanied by her strange *famuli*, among the attendants on the left of the window.[2]

The Courtyard (Plates xxix., xliii.).—Aÿ and his wife Tyi, attended by two fat officials, stand below the window to receive the bounty of the King.[3] Their faces are worked with special care and give one an impression of belonging to the same high family, as may well have been the case. The face of Aÿ does not differ essentially from those in the entrance, and but little from the ink profile on Pl. xxxi. From these three examples of careful work we may perhaps form a true estimate of the capacity of the Egyptian artist for portraiture and of its limits. The presence of the wife of Aÿ here, as everywhere else in the tomb, is very exceptional, but her rank as nurse and tutoress of the Queen and handmaid (?) of the King fully justify it.[4] Gifts

[1] Cf. Petrie, *Tell el Amarna*, I., figs. 1, 13, for nude sculpture of the Queen. The supposition that clothing might have been indicated in paint seems to fail, since by exception there is no sign that colour was ever applied to this wall.

[2] Hay remarks here that the heads of these dwarfs have been destroyed, "perhaps as being favourites." The note is pertinent, for their faces are almost everywhere defaced, perhaps by accident. These servants, for whom ridiculous titles and names are invented, and their mistress, who stands apart without participating in the worship of Aten, invite comment. Were it not for the evident youth of the princess and her Egyptian aspect, I would have ventured to suggest that it was Tadukhipa herself under an Egyptian name, to whom the monogamous King would grant no higher title or relation than this. She would then be "the queen" to whom the dwarf Er-neheh had been jestingly appointed "vizier." Her speedy disappearance would be easily explained by the King's repugnance to the alliance The dwarfs' curious titles might then have some playful reference to their Syrian names.

[3] The stone on which the upper part of their bodies was cut fell out or was removed, but by good chance reached the Museum at Cairo (Pl. xxxviii.).

[4] Tenre, as a favourite of the Queen, also has a prominent place in Tomb 4. Cf. also p. 5 above.

are being showered on the proud pair, but the manner of their bestowal must, from their nature, be an artist's license, as little founded on fact as the nudity of the royal family.

Since the gifts of the King are certain in this case to represent those things which would most delight the heart of a high-born and wealthy pair, they are worth enumerating :—[1]

18 double necklaces of gold beads, two at least of them fitted with pectorals.

2 plain necklaces.

5 collars, no doubt of threaded faïence trinkets.

6 fillets, probably of the same sort.

4 golden (?) cups, two with a foot, two without.

2 metal (?) vases.

5 signet rings.

1 pair of gloves.

12 pairs of plain armlets.[2]

We have here, surely, the earliest representation of gloves. Nor do they, I think, reappear in Egyptian pictures. One would suspect an Eastern origin for them, since the most urgent need for them by a man of position would be in the management of horses, and this was exactly Aÿ's duty. At any rate the picture would lead us to think that Aÿ was intensely proud of this rare possession. As soon as he is outside the gates of the palace he puts them on and exhibits them to his friends (Pl. xxxi.). Nor has he any reason to be dissatisfied at the impression which they make ; for the bystanders press round to see and stroke them, lift up their arms in wild astonishment, and are ready to fall down and do homage to him and them indiscriminately.

The crowd within the courtyard seems ranked in order of precedence. At the back the two royal chariots wait.[3] The most grudging admission apparently is given to the representative foreigners (Negro, Libyan, North and South Syrian), accompanied by their Egyptian interpreters. Scribes follow and then squads of police and mercenaries, who seem to form an escort to a group of officials (officers of the Treasury ?) in charge of two small chests. Then come bands of soldiery, including four standard-bearers, Negro bowmen, and spearmen from Libya and Syria. The Egyptians (?) are armed with what look like sand-bags, but may be officers' batons. An advanced position is necessarily occupied by the acting scribes, who look strangely like gentlemen of the press, so eager do they appear in the pursuit of their profession. Then comes a group of high officials, including fan-bearers, and lastly, as the highest of all, the high-priest of Aten (?) and the vizier. A place in the front, however, is also reserved for a band of mimes, who seem to perform the part of the jester in a Western court, manifesting the public opinion on the day's proceedings in comic gesture and perhaps even in merry gibe or exaggerated encomium.[4]

Outside the Courtyard (Plates xxx., xliv.).—It was a pretty fancy to make the Aten shed his rays also upon the gate, as if blessing those who enter even into the outer courts of the King. Nevertheless two warders as well keep guard with whips.[5] Aÿ is seen emerging from the gates ; he is loaded with jewellery and is wearing the presentation gloves.[6] Servants follow him

[1] I do not include the gifts of Plate xxx., which I take to be a repetition, though some small toilet vases are added there, but I have reckoned the collars which Aÿ and Tyi have already donned.

[2] At least Aÿ appears outside with them on, and it is in itself probable that earrings and bracelets would be given (cf. III., xvii.). They may, however, be represented by the rings mentioned above, though those are distinctly flattened on one side, like signet-rings.

[3] The top of the picture represents distance, and thus probably here a position near the gates, which must have admitted a broader road than the artist grants.

[4] They are seen also in II., xxxviii. ; III., xiv.

[5] Cf. Pl. iv.

[6] The whole of this group, together with the cheering saïses further on, are only executed in black ink. The collars, however, have been drawn in red ink to represent gold, as also the arm-bands and the gloves. Both the latter, indeed, have been coloured solid red, so that the gloved hands are indisputable. The marking of the fingers does

carrying the royal presents on trays, and at the sight his friends and the men of the patrol greet him with cheers and prostrations. Three chariots are in waiting to convey Aÿ and his friends.

Still further in the background are the military posts, where six standards are planted on three platforms, two on each. They belong apparently to two regiments, the square standards being borne by troops dressed in a simple loin-cloth, while those whose emblem is the sun-shade add to this a long but girt-up tunic. By each platform a sentry sits on a cushioned fauld-stool. The courtyard wall has shut out from their eyes the spectacle within, but they keep in touch with what is going on by help of the street boys, who run to and fro and bring the news.

The sentry nearest the gate hears the din and asks eagerly: "For whom is this rejoicing being made, my boy?" The reply is given: "The rejoicing is being made for Aÿ, the father of the god, along with Tyi. They have been made people of gold!" To which the very unsoldierly-looking sentry ejaculates: "You will see. These are the beauties of the age (?)!" The news does not reach the second sentry so quickly. "Hasten!" he cries; "go see the loud rejoicing; I mean, who it is; and come back at a run." The errand is thoroughly to the urchin's taste. "I will do it. Behold me!" The boys of the city have already brought a highly-coloured tale to the third sentry; for when a friend sits down to chat and asks "For whom are they rejoicing?" he is able to reply: "Rise up and you will see: this is the good thing which Pharaoh (L.P.H.!) has done for Aÿ, the father of the god, and Tyi! Pharaoh (L.P.H.!) has given to them millions of loads of gold and all manner of riches!" The boys are more fortunate than the sentries in leaving their duties. We see one handing over a bag and stool to a comrade with the words: "Look to the stool[1] and the sack, that we may see what is being done for Aÿ, the father of the god." The reply is more boy-like than accommodating: "Don't be long, (or) I'll be off and keep them, my master!"

not necessarily imply that the gloves were fingered. They are more likely to have been undivided, as in the sculptured examples.

SOUTHERN DOORWAY (Plates xxxi., xxxii.).[2]

Previous copies:—HAY, *MSS.*, 29847, fol. 66; 29814, fol. 13. L'HÔTE, *Papiers*, xi., 38 (sketch of lintel); LEPSIUS, *D.*, III., 105 *f*, 107 *d* (lintel and left jamb). *Mon. du culte d'Atonou*, I., p. 46.[3]

The lintel of this door-framing is almost totally destroyed, nothing now remaining but the figures of Aÿ (headless) and his wife, with her titles. The jambs are in even a worse state, only a few hieroglyphs and the kneeling figures at the foot surviving (Plate xxxi.). The lintel showed the figures and prayers of Aÿ and Tyi on either side of a design formed of cartouches and titularies under the radiant disc. Translations of the texts will be found on pp. 33, 34.

C. AŸ AND TYI.

The intrinsic interest of this tomb is supplemented by our knowledge of Aÿ's later career; for it is generally acknowledged that he is identical with that King Aÿ who ascended the throne of Egypt after the death of one or more of Akhenaten's successors. This identification with the King, on the ground of similarity of name, wife's name, and the title "father of the divinity," has gained new force and interest by the arguments which Professor Borchardt has brought forward for giving to that title the sense of "father-in-law of the King."[4]

[1] *Asbet* is used of the King's throne, III., xiii. *Thenfet* is a rare word, but the picture makes its meaning plain here, if it is not a slang use.

[2] The lintel is reproduced from the plate of Lepsius, with one or two emendations from Hay. I have also thought to get nearer the original by taking the head of Aÿ on the outer jamb as a model.

[3] This plate seems to have been drawn from the same source as mine.

[4] BORCHARDT, *Bericht d. Königl. Sächsischen Gesellschaft*, LVII., p. 254. May it not mean directly "father of the Queen," the heiress to the throne being considered divine in nature? Tyi is not suckler and nurse of the King (*ib.*, p. 263), but of the Queen; for as Nefertiti's name is

If the right to the throne lay with Nefertiti, as her titles may indicate, they must then have passed to her through her mother Tyi, the wife of Aÿ, and it is possible that Tyi, Queen of Amenhotep III., assumed the name of the real heiress to conceal her non-royal birth. Aÿ, to whom Tyi was given in marriage, was probably also of high birth, though his titles are not extremely imposing. Tyi's titles show that the pair cannot have been very young at this time and must have been advancing in years when Aÿ came to the throne by right of his wife. If Benretmut, as it appears, is their second daughter, whom her sister, the Queen, had taken into her train, her separation from her parents in the picture must be due to etiquette at El Amarna, which did not permit the children of the deceased to be shown on the walls, nor even their wives, unless these had special relations to the Queen.[1] Since Aÿ owed his special position near the King to his wife, Tyi appears with her husband on every occasion, and even when he receives honours from the King.

The portrait of Aÿ in this tomb seems not to be in disaccord with his features when he appears as King on the walls of his sepulchre in the Western valley at Thebes, if we make allowance for the conventional style adopted there; and the head of Queen Tyi II. at Ekhmim is in striking harmony with that shown in Pl. xxxix., both exhibiting a face somewhat plain and sharp-featured.[2]

It is unpleasant to turn from this pleasing picture of the King's happy relations with his wife's family as well as his own, the winning thoughts of Aÿ's hymn, his exuberant expressions of loyalty, and the charming examples of the new art which adorn his tomb, to the impressions gained from the burial-chamber of the same man as King. For he had proved so false to his former faith that his few monuments show him in adoration of the whole Egyptian Pantheon, and his burial-place exhibits the stiffest and worst features of the Theban style. One genial touch, however, distinguishes both the first and last tombs. That love of nature, of bird and plant life, which the religion of the Aten exhibited, and on which Aÿ seems especially to have fastened, is reflected again in his last tomb, where the old King, remembering past days and the private pleasures of the former Master of the Horse, had himself depicted, against the custom of kings, as engaged in a day's sport in the marshes in a thoroughly human way.[3]

The titles accorded to Aÿ in his tomb are:

1. , "Father of the divinity,"

2. , "Bearer of the fan on the right hand of the King,"

3. , "Acting Scribe of the King, beloved by him,"

4. , "Overseer of all the horses of His Majesty,"

besides many complimentary epithets, including that of , "Companion" (Pl. xxxii.), and , "Head of the Companions of the King" (Pls. xxxii., col. 4; xxv., col. 12).

definitely attached to the first office (Pl. xxiv.), so the determinative of the Queen wearing the double feather belongs to the word *ntr(t)* or *ntri(t)*, not to *shd-t* (Hay shows the double feather quite clearly in both occurrences of the title on the lintel also).

[1] The exceptions (II., xxiii., and IV., xlv.) occur only in the shrine.

[2] The head of Aÿ as King and that of Tyi as Queen are reproduced in L., *D.*, III., 113 *a*, 296.

[3] L., *D.*, III., 113 *c*.

CHAPTER IV.

THE RELIGIOUS TEXTS.[1]

A. Hymns and Prayers.

1. HYMN OF PARENNEFER.

South Thickness. (Plate iii.).

Previous copies: Hay, *MSS.*, 29814, fol. 28; 29847, fol. 16;[2] *Mon. du culte d'Atonou*, I., lxiv.

"An ascription of praise to the [living Aten], who illumines (?) every land with his beauty, at whose dawning all men live; (and to) the *ka* of the King, who lives on Truth, Lord of the Two Lands, Nefer-kheperu-ra-Ua-en-ra, giving life, the Origin of Fate and Creator of Nursing, Lord of burial, Giver of old age, Lord of the term of life, in the day of whose vigour there is prosperity.[3] At sight of thee there is life and health. (When) one awakes (?) one [adores] thy fair face.

"May he grant a life happy in following the King, pleasure and joy every day, (and as) the close of this a goodly burial by the favour[4] (?) of the good [god], entrance [and exit] in the house of the King and that his body be provided with favours of his giving. For the *ka* of the favourite of the good god, servant of the King when he was a child, Royal Craftsman,[5] he who laves the hands of [His Majesty, Paren]nefer, who lives anew.

"He saith, 'Grant thy duration to thy beloved son, Lord of the Two Lands, [Nefer-kheperu-]ra. Further him[6] with . . . . *sed*-festival. Let thy rays be with life and strength, invigorating (his) limbs daily . . . . . . eternity in Akhetaten, propitiating thy *ka* daily. Grant to me (?) [old age happy in the] favour of the King, following his *ka* every day, a lifetime happy in seeing the Lord of the Two Lands without failure in his beauty.

"'[For] the *ka* of the Royal Craftsman, he who laves the hands (of the King), Parennefer (?).'"

2. HYMN OF TUTU.

South Thickness. (Plate xv.).[7]

Previous copies are: Hay, *MSS.*, 29814, fol. 12; 29847, fol. 14; Lepsius, *D.*, III., 107 *a*; *Mon. du culte d'Atonou*, I. liii.[8]

"[Praise to thy *ka*,] O Horakhti-Aten, who givest life, for ever and ever; (and to) thy favourite the King (*sic*) who lives on Truth, Lord of the Two Lands, thy child who issued from thy rays. Thou hast established him in thine office of King of South and North Egypt (and) as ruler of that which Aten encircles. Thou hast given eternity to him, even as thou hast made thyself, (him) thy son, a part of thee (?),[9] that [he] may fulfil (it) with thy duration,[10] the son of the sun [Akhenaten] great in his duration; (and to) the chief wife of the King, Nefer-[neferu-]aten-[Nefertiti], who lives for ever and ever.

[2] ". . . . (When) thou [dawnest] (and) illuminest the Two Lands, thy rays[11] (fall) on thy beloved son and thy hand holds life and pleasure (?). Thy love is great and broad; (thou) sparklest in thy proud colours; thou floodest

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[1] The editor, in supervising my translations of these and other broken texts, has again made so many and such valuable contributions that both in this chapter and elsewhere they must be regarded as our joint work.

[2] Whence the restorations in the plate.

[3] Read [hieroglyphs].

[4] Or "among the favourites," reading [hieroglyphs] (or [hieroglyphs]) [hieroglyphs].

[5] Reading [hieroglyphs] (for the usual [hieroglyphs]) [hieroglyphs].

[6] For the word cf. Pl. xxv., col. 18.

[7] As the text in *Mon. du culte d'Atonou* is a collation, I thought it best to ignore it in preparing my own, and obtained an independent text from the copies of Hay and Lepsius. A comparison of our plates will therefore show how strong is the confirmation of the text now presented. When on the point of printing, I learnt of the existence of squeezes in the Museum at Berlin (No. 502), and, by the extreme kindness of Dr. Ranke, one of the staff, I was furnished with a copy drawn from these. Though few changes resulted, the assurance gained in a large number of doubtful readings was of enormous value, since confidence in a text is of almost as great importance as its actual correctness.

Extant signs are printed in solid black.

[8] Breasted has given a translation from his own copies in *Records*, II., p. 415.

[9] [hieroglyph] (squeeze). Surely an error.

[10] One would have expected [hieroglyphs].

[11] Read [hieroglyph] for [hieroglyph] (squeeze).

heaven and earth with thy beauty. Thy son who issued from thy body, worships thee and thou hearkenest for him to all that is in his heart, and fulfillest it as it proceeds from his mouth. Thou lovest him and makest him like Aten; (for though) thou art in heaven thy rays are upon him (?).[1] [3] . . . . . . [The King of South and North, living on Truth,] Lord of the Two Lands, N. Thou hast given birth to His Majesty even as thou givest birth to thyself daily without ceasing. Thou hast formed him by thine own rays, that he might fulfil the duration of Aten. (When) thou traversest heaven his eye is on thy beauty, exulting with joy at seeing thee, the living Aten. Thou favourest him; (and) all that are under heaven to its full extent, all that see thy rays, belong to thy son (?); even as thou hast made them (that) he may gladden thy heart by them, [4] [the Son of the Sun, living on Truth, Lord of Diadems, Akhen]aten, great in his duration.

"I have come with praise to the Aten, the living and sole god, Lord of rays for giving light.[2] Dawning in heaven and illumining the Two Lands, he gives life to all that he has created, he puts darkness to flight and sends his rays (so that) every land is filled with his love. The herbs and trees spring up to (greet) thy face; the denizens of the waters leap at thy rising. All men rise up in their places; they cleanse [5] [their limbs and take] clothing;[3] labourers of all kinds do their tasks. (When) thou awakenest the Two Lands at thy dawning in thy form of the living Aten, their mouth is filled with plenty of thy giving; all manner of cattle [rest on][4] their herbage. Thou dispersest ills and givest health. All men rise at thy dawning, for they have seen their lord when he appears, thy unique son, who issued from thy body, thou embracest him with thy bright rays [6] . . . . Lord of heaven . . . . . [When thou shinest] in thy[5] form of the living Aten every land trips (?) to thy rising. Thy rays hold millions of *sed*-festivals for thy son, who lives on Truth, Lord of the Two Lands, N., my god who fashioned and fostered me. Grant to me my eye seeing him, my arms adoring him, my ear hearing his tones, and his spirit before me without ceasing.

"I was a servant favoured [by his lord]; his teaching and his instruction are in my inmost heart (lit. "belly") [7] [unceasingly?] . . . . Verily I speak with truth to his Majesty,[6] for I know that he lives thereon. The Chief Servitor of N. in . . . . the temple of Aten in Akhetaten, the Chamberlain, Tutu, saith: 'My lord who lives on Truth, N., I am a servant [8] . . . . [Nefer-kheperu-ra][7] to whom life is given as (to) Aten, thy father, and who thrivest even as he. I do not that which is hateful to His Majesty; falsehood in my inward parts is my abomination, as it is the extreme abomination of Ua-en-ra. I present Truth to His Majesty; for I know that he lives thereon. Thou indeed art Ra, who produced Maat (Truth); thou hast set [9] . . . . My voice was not loud (?) in the King's house, nor my walk swaggering (lit. "broad") in the palace. I did not receive the reward of falsity in order to do violence to Justice on behalf of Crime. On the contrary I did Right for the King,[8] I acted according to his command laid upon me. I have grown wealthy by the bounty of Ua-en-ra; I have been ennobled by the rewards which he gave to me . . . . [10] . . . . the teaching. [I do] not (?) . . . . my lord guiltily to my knowledge. I do not set falsity in my inward parts. I am before him in the palace as . . . . favourites (?). He rose early every day to teach me because of my zeal in performing his teaching. On no occasion was I found in evil.[9] [11] . . . . the teaching of the Lord of the Two Lands. I was precise and true, as the King knoweth . . . . my life (?) (lies)[10] in adoring His Majesty; for I am his follower.

"'Let me be satisfied with seeing thee. My heart begs that thou wouldest decree for me [goodly] burial [12] after old age in the cliff of Akhetaten . . . . May I inhale thy sweet air of the North wind; which is fragrant in the incense of the service of N., my god. [13] How prosperous (?) is the King who does the good pleasure of his father! . . . . Grant me that my fame may be firm-founded on that which thou (?)[11] hast done; may the fame of thy favourite not be to seek (*i.e.* may it be conspicuous), but may that which thou hast done abide and be named by my (?) name for [me?].[12]

[14] "'How prosperous is he whom thou rewardest in each of his offices! . . . .[13] the offerings (?) of the Aten in Akhetaten, all scribes of the King who know their business, whose hearts are expert in serviceableness, every one who lifts the foot to walk by this (?) [tomb] . . . .

[1] So Hay; the squeeze is illegible. Perhaps "upon earth" should be read, as in Pl. xxvii., col. 3.

[2] It is better perhaps to read for , with Hay, and translate "Creator of light."

[3] Cf. Pls. xiv. and xxvii., cols. 4, 5.

[4] Cf. Pl. xxvii., col. 5.

[5] Reading , with Hay.

[6] Or perhaps, "His Majesty's Truth."

[7] The squeezes suggest that a cartouche is to be substituted for the doubtful hieroglyphs here.

[8] Or, "the King's Right."

[9] Lit. "My occasion was not found in any evil."

[10] I adopt Hay's reading , against Dr. Ranke's reading of the squeeze, as it is what one would expect. Cf. xxv., 14.

[11] One would rather translate "all that I have done"; but see below.

[12] Or perhaps simply "and be honourably named." The last sign is from Bouriant's copy.

[13] Supply "O! all ye priests who offer" or a similar phrase.

the living Aten, say ye for him "Set him to Eternity, O living Aten, He who creates Himself. Thou art eternal, and likewise thy son Ua-en-ra, who issued from his body. Sweet breezes of the gift of the King's *ka* for the *ka* of the Chamberlain, Tutu." ' "

3. TUTU'S ADDRESS TO POSTERITY.

West Wall. North Side. (Plate xix.).

Previous copy:—*Mon. du culte d'Atonou*, I., lix

"The Chamberlain, Tutu, saith:—

" 'O leaders (?) of [1] all persons, scribes [who know][2] their business, [2] chief *wab* priests of the temple of Aten, pious (?) unto Aten, great ones . . . . scribes (?) whose hearts are [3] expert (?) in life! Every one who desires to reach old age, interment and proper obsequies, (when) one is sated [4] with life,[3] hear for yourselves! Enter ye my tomb and see how great is that which was done to me. I was a servant of [5] Ua-en-ra, the Ruler who lived on Truth. I followed him and he was quick (lit. "he rose early") to reward me (?) because [6] I performed what issued from his mouth. I did not shelter (anyone) in any case of wrong-doing[4] in any business [of] his Majesty. [7] I was the supreme mouthpiece in the entire land, in expeditions, works and crafts, and [of] all persons living and dead;[5] as to [8] the ambassadors of all the foreign lands, I announced their words to the palace, I being . . . . . [9] every day. I came out to them as the messenger of the King, possessed of every rule of [His] Majesty. [I directed] [10] the work on his monuments. I was first in my rank (of?) *Ami-khent*, being pure (?) for Ua-en-ra . . . . ' "[6]

4. SECOND HYMN OF TUTU.

West Wall. South Side. (Plate xxi.).

Previous copy: BOURIANT, *Mon. du culte d'Atonou*, I., Pl. lvi. and pp. 114–117.

[1] ". . . . . child (?) of the Aten, a living Ra, great of love, at whose decree the land lives. When thou openest thine eyes [2] the land (?) abounds with wealth which thou hast decreed (?). Thou art the mother who hast borne all mankind and brought up millions by thy bounty. Thy might is a wall of brass of millions of cubits.[7] Thou embracest the lands with thy power to the compass of the rays of Aten.

[3] "[The King of the South and North?] N., a ruler of love, great of marvels. Thy beauties are many (?). The colours of thy limbs are like the rays of thy father. (When) he, the living Aten, dawns, all that . . . . has created is illumined (?). Thou (?)[8] (art) [4] of his nature, issuing (?) . . . . Thy limbs are . . . . . as he is beautiful in his flesh . . . . (While) he exists thou shalt (exist) eternally. As to the Aten, thou (?) art his beloved Son (?). Thou art of his nature; acclamations are made for thee to heaven [5] . . . . [great] in his duration. He sets thee to Eternity[9]; thou shalt be everlasting; thou celebratest festivals, thou whom Aten fashions as often as he rises and dawns in heaven to illuminate every land (?). [6] . . . . [Syria] and Kush are brought[10] with obeisances for thee to Akhetaten, they of the South equally with them of the North. They prostrate themselves before thee and make salutations [7] . . . . Ra fashions thee, the lord of Destiny, who creates length of days, N., a heaven which holds the living Aten and in which are breezes. Thou hast given it to the nostril[11] of thy favourites. [8] . . . . cattle (?) with all kind of roast fowl (?) . . . . water (?) therein. Its fields (?) are full of wealth, abounding in life. They are barred[12] against any spoliation (?) [9] . . . . see (?) by means of them. As to Aten, he shines in . . . . according to thy (?) ordinance. All thy favoured ones see him there shining; (but) the spoiler (?) is (doomed) to the place of destruction (?) [10] . . . . [He] is the Sun, a nature excellent towards all men, (N.?) . . . . . . Thou formest him in order that he may travel on the road (?) in the midst of (?) the fields (?) [11] . . . . of six measured with a rod (?), the body clothed with fine linen . . . . by thy bounty, his house filled . . . . so that (when) he calls to one of a thousand [he?] answers (?).[13] [12] He voyages in the barge . . . . he sails (?) having a crew, provided with rudder (?) . . . . . . according to the decree of the Ruler who establishes [men], the son of the Sun, Akhenaten, great in his duration, and the chief wife of the King, whom he loves (?), [13] [Nefer-

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[1] Supplying [hieroglyphs] (?).

[2] See prayer above, col. 14.

[3] Reading [hieroglyphs].

[4] Emending to [hieroglyphs].

[5] [hieroglyphs], "dead," is perhaps to be read in place of [hieroglyphs] or immediately following it.

[6] It is not clear whether the inscription ended here or was composed with a view to filling the entire space between this and the praying figure of Tutu, which affords room for about twelve columns more. The text seems incomplete, as it contains neither praise nor prayer.

[7] Cf. V., Pl. xxix., line 9.

[8] [hieroglyphs] *Mon. du culte d'Atonou*, I., Pl. lvi.

[9] Emending to [hieroglyphs]. Cf. xxv., col. 18. *Mon. du culte d'Atonou* reads [hieroglyphs].

[10] Read [hieroglyphs] (*Mon. du culte d'Atonou* and my photographs).

[11] Read [hieroglyphs] (*ib.*).

[12] Reading [hieroglyphs].

[13] Cf. V., xv.

titi], living for ever and ever. The Chamberlain, Tutu, saith:

"'I relate . . . . [in] my heart, ... thy . . . . in my inward parts . . . . [14] . . . . How salutary is the teaching of Ua-en-ra, which I have put (?) in my heart to do it . . . . the Aten who formed him . . . . [15] he listens to Truth, unto a heap (?) of riches as many as . . . . eastern horizon . . . . [16] millions, the Sun (Ra) who lives on Truth, N. O all ye who follow him, listen to the teaching of Ua-en-ra . . . . Truth . . . . [17] he descends to the execution and the flame devours his flesh. The Aten dawns . . . . thou seest Ra, rejoicing (?) . . . . [18] the concerns of the body for every one. Thine eyes are uplifted (?) to (?) see the circuit of Aten . . . . They have (?) [19] the body swathed, a distant people whom the Ruler judges (?) . . . . [20] . . . . let him become an enemy among you; let him be clothed with . . . . [21] wealth, on which your fame is established; according to the decree of the Ruler, beautiful . . . . cliff in the resting-place . . . . [22] Syria . . . . till they who are scrupulous for him reach it . . . . Aten, like [him?] . . . . eternal, [23] Nefer-kheperu-ra.' [The Chamberlain, Tutu,][1] saith: 'My lord, sole one of Aten, who upholds his name, his son . . . . [His] Majesty . . . . His Majesty . . . . [24] my breath of life is to see him daily, Ua-en-ra, my (?) . . . . daily. Thou . . . . my name (?), my . . . . of life with wealth . . . . King. [25] He teaches me. Lo! I tell you something worth hearing. The Ruler is Light . . . . burial, [26] salubrity, delight. Lo! it belongs to the Ruler. May he grant . . . . (when) he [27] dawns, he does his will against him who ignores his teaching and his favour towards him who knows him. When thou listenest to the King . . . . the darkness (?) . . . . the rays of the [Aten] . . . . the [28] Ruler. When he rises the Nile prospers and waters the land (?); the fields (?) are in festival . . . . Aten (?) [29] . . . . me with his wealth. They are in joy; every despoiler (?) . . . . Aten.'"

5. HYMN OF AŸ.

East Thickness. Pls. xxv., xxxviii., xxxix.

Previous copies[2]:—DARESSY, *Recueil de Travaux*, xv., p. 45; *Mon. du culte d'Atonou*, I., xix., xx. (Photograph).

"An adoration of Aten, who gives life for ever and ever, (of) the King of South and North, N., the son of the Sun, A., great in his duration, (and of) the chief wife of the King, Nefertiti, living for ever and ever.

[2] "Praise to thee when thou dawnest on the horizon, O living Aten, lord of Eternity, and an obeisance when thou dawnest in heaven to illumine every land with thy beauty.

"Thy rays (rest) on thy beloved son, thy hands [3] hold millions of *sed*-festivals for the King of South and North, N., thy child, who issued from thy rays. Thou transferrest to him thy duration and thy years. Thou hearkenest [4] for him to that which is in his heart. Thou lovest him and makest him like Aten. (When) thou dawnest eternity is given to him; (when) thou settest thou givest to him everlastingness. Thou producest him in the morning like thy changes; thou formest him as thy image [5] like Aten, a ruler of Justice, who issued from eternity, a son of the Sun who upholds his beauty and conducts to him the produce of his rays, the King of South and North Egypt, living on Truth, Lord of the Two Lands, N., (and) the chief wife of the King, Nefertiti, who lives for ever and ever.

[6] "The father of the god, etc., Aÿ, says, 'Hail to thee, the living Aten, who, dawning in heaven, floodest hearts (with his beams). Every land is in festival at his rising; their hearts are [7] glad with acclamations of their lord; for He that hath created him dawns upon them. (When) thy son presents Truth to thy fair face, with delight thou seest him who issued from thee, the son of Eternity who issued from [8] Aten, serviceable to Him who was serviceable to him, gratifying the heart of Aten. (When) he dawns in heaven, he rejoices at his son; he embraces him with his rays; he gives to him eternity as a King like the [9] Aten, N., my god who made me and fostered my *ka*. Grant that I may be satisfied with the sight of thee unceasingly, my lord, constituted like Aten, abounding in wealth, a Nile [10] pouring forth (waters) daily,[3] who gives life to Egypt, silver and gold like the sands of the shores. The land awakes to acclaim (him), prosperous by his bounty. O thou whom Aten bore, thou art to Eternity, N., living and thriving even as he formed thee.'

[11] "The father of the god, etc., Aÿ, saith, 'I was one loyal to the King who fostered him, punctilious towards the Lord of the Two Lands, serviceable to his lord. I followed the spirit of His Majesty as his favourite, seeing [12] his beauty when he appeared in his palace. I was head of the great ones, the companions of the King,[4] chief of all those that follow His Majesty . . . . . . He set Truth in my inward parts; falsehood was my abomination; (for) I knew that Ua-en-ra, my lord, rejoiced thereat, [13] he being wise like Aten and truly understanding. He multiplied for me my rewards of silver and gold. I was chief of the great ones, head of the *rekhyt*. My achievements and my excellent character (made) my present position.[5]

[1] *Mon. du culte d'Atonou.* Now injured.

[2] A translation of the hymn is given by BREASTED from his own copy in *Records*, II., p. 409.

[3] Cf. V., ii., line 13, for this and many other borrowed phrases.

[4] Or "head of the companions of the King." Cf. p. 33.

[5] Cf. V., Pl. iv., and p. 17.

[14] "'My lord taught me and I do his teaching. My life (consists) in adoring his *ka*. I am satisfied in following him. My breath by which I live is this North-wind, this Myriad of Niles, pouring forth waters daily, N. [15] Grant to me a life extended by thy favours. How happy is thy favourite, O Son of the Aten! All that he does is stable and thriving, and the bounty of the Lord of the Two Lands is with him to eternity. Such a one is satisfied with life and reaches [16] old age.

"'O my lord, who establishes man, determines (his) life-course, and creates a happy destiny for his favourite (so that his) heart rests on truth and falsehood is his abomination, how prosperous is he who listens to thy teaching of LIFE! He is satisfied by seeing thee unceasingly; [17] his eyes see the Aten daily. Grant to me a happy old age as thy favourite. Give to me goodly burial by the command of thy *ka* in my tomb, which thou hast commanded for me, that I may rest therein in the mountain of Akhetaten, the resting-place of the elect, and the sound of thy [18] sweet voice in the chapel of the *Benben*.

"'Thou doest what is grateful to thy father the living Aten. May he set thee to eternity, (even) to eternity! May he further thee with *sed*-festivals in number[1] like the sand-dunes (if) one measures (them) with a bushel; as one reckons the sea, when measured by [19] *zavets*;[2] (as) one learns the tale of the mountains when hung in the balance, or the feathers[3] of birds, or [20] the leaves (?) of trees—*sed*-festivals of the King Ua-en-ra, for ever and ever, and with a royal length of life [21] for the chief wife of the King, whom he loves, who unites her beauties and propitiates the Aten with her [22] pleasant voice and with her beautiful hands holding [23] the sistrums, the Lady of the Two Lands, Nefertiti, who lives for ever and ever. May she be by the side of [24] Ua-en-ra for ever and ever, even as heaven stands firm [25] with all that it holds. Thy father the Aten dawns in heaven to protect thee [26] every day, even as he has borne thee.

"'Grant to me pure food which has gone into thy presence, from [27] the surplus of thy father Aten, by the gift of thy *ka*. Grant that [28] my *ka* may be lasting and thriving for me as when I was on earth, following thy *ka*, [29] one for whom there was a procession[4] of honour to the resting-place of the elect. Thou hast allowed me to rest in it, (for) my mouth [30] held truth, my name was mentioned because of it, as thou didst decree. May I be as every companion of thine, following thy *ka*. May I come secure of thy rewards after old age.'

"For the *ka* of the Bearer of the fan, etc., Aÿ, living anew."

[1] There is here a play on the words *mtn.w*, "further," and *mi tn.w*, "like the number." For the former word see Pl. iii., col. 6.

[2] Mr. Griffith suggests that this may be the cubic quarter of a *heqat*.

[3] The word seems to be determined by a bird's wing.

[4] Cf. Pl. xxxiii., East column.

HYMN TO THE ATEN.

AŸ. West Thickness. Plates xxvii.,[5] xli.

Previous copy:—BOURIANT, *Mission Archéologique*. Tome I., p. 2; revised in *Mon. du culte d'Atonou*, I., Pl. xvi. and p. 30.

"An adoration of Horakhti-Aten, who lives for ever and ever, the living and great Aten, who is within the *sed*-festival, lord of all that Aten encircles, lord of heaven, lord of earth,[6] lord of the house of Aten in Akhetaten, (of) the King of South and North Egypt, living on Truth, Lord of the Two Lands, Nefer-kheperu-ra-Ua-en-ra, the Son of the Sun, living on Truth, Lord of Diadems, Akhenaten, great in his duration, (and of) the chief wife of the King, whom he loves, Lady of the Two Lands, Nefer-neferu-aten-Nefertiti, who has life, health and youth for ever and ever.[7]

"The Bearer of the Fan on the right hand of the King, Overseer of all the horses of His Majesty, he who gives satisfaction in the whole land, the favourite of the good god, the father of the god, Aÿ [2], saith:—

"'Thy rising is beautiful on the horizon of heaven, O living Aten, who dispensest life. (When) thou dawnest on the eastern horizon thou fillest every land with thy beauty. Thou art splendid, great, radiant, uplifted above every land. Thy rays embrace the lands to the extent of all that thou hast made [3]. Thou art Ra; thou bringest them after their number and subjectest them (to) thy

[5] The lacunæ in this plate have been filled up from BOURIANT's copy, the extent of present gaps being marked by a light outline and by broken lines of partition, also in a few cases by dotted hieroglyphs. The text of Bouriant admits of some distrust in badly preserved passages, but it must be remembered that we have no copy before us from his own hand.

The text is discussed by BREASTED in his *De Hymnis in Solem*, and a passage of it (with revised text) in *Ä. Z.*, 1901, p. 53. Translations have been furnished by GRIFFITH in PETRIE, *History*, II., p. 215, and *Library of the World's Literature*, p. 5225, by ERMAN, *Handbook of Egyptian Religion*, p. 64, and (partially) by MASPERO, *Struggle of the Nations*, pp. 321–3.

[6] [hieroglyphs] should have been printed in the plate.

[7] It will be observed in the photographs that the name of Aÿ in front of his figure follows immediately upon the end of the first column of the hymn, though in a separated and narrower column. As the praying figure indicates the person to whom the prayer is attributed, Aÿ is obviously the speaker, and the subject to "he says" at the top of col. 2. I do not doubt, therefore, that the name and titles of Aÿ are to be taken as a continuation of col. 1. The point is of importance, as it removes all textual ground for attributing the hymn to the King.

beloved son.[1] Thou art distant, but thy rays are on the earth.[2] Thou art in (their) faces, and they watch (?) thy goings.

"'(When) thou settest on the western horizon the earth is in darkness, in the likeness of death. They lie down in a chamber with their heads wrapped up; one eye seeth not its fellow. (Though) all their goods which are under their heads be taken from them, they know (it) not. [4] Every lion cometh forth from his den; all the serpents bite; (for) the darkness is (their) ambush (?).[3] The land is in silence; (for) he who made them rests in his horizon.

"'When the land brightens, thou dawnest on the horizon and shinest as Aten of the daytime. Thou drivest away darkness. When thou sendest thy rays the Two Lands are in festival; mortals (?) arise and stand upon (their) feet; (for) thou hast raised them up. They cleanse their limbs; (and) take [5] clothes; their arms are (uplifted) in praise at thy rising; the whole land performs its labours. Animals of all kinds rest on their pastures; trees and herbage grow green; birds flutter in their nests, their wings (outstretched) in praise to thy spirit. All cattle leap upon their feet, all manner of flying and fluttering things [6] have life[4] when thou dawnest for them.[5] The ships, too, go down and up the stream; (for) every road opens at thy rising. The fish in the rivers glide to greet thee;[6] thy rays penetrate the deep sea, creating (too) issue in women and producing seed in mankind,[7] giving life to the son in his mother's womb, soothing with that which stills his weeping, being a nurse within [7] the womb, giving air in order to put life into all that He has made. When he issues from the womb . . . . the day of his birth, thou openest his mouth duly (?) and suppliest his needs.

"'A young bird in the egg chirps within the shell, (for) thou givest to him air inside it to impart life to him; thou givest to him his full form, so that he breaks it (the egg) from (within) the egg. (When) he comes forth from the egg he can chirp with all his might; he runs on his feet when he comes forth from it.

"'How manifold are the things which thou hast made! They are hidden from sight, O [8] sole god, to whom none other is rival.[8] Thou hast created them for thy heart (when) thou wast alone, mankind, cattle, all manner of animals, all that are upon earth going on foot,[9] and as many as are aloft flying with their wings, the nations of Syria and Kush and the land[10] of Egypt. Thou assignest each man to his place, thou suppliest their needs (so that) each man has his sustenance, reckoning his term of life. Their tongues are diverse in speech; their natures, [9] and even their complexions, are distinct. (For thus) thou distinguishest the strange peoples.

"'Thou makest the Nile in the under-world and bringest it at thy pleasure to give life to mankind, as thou hast made them for thyself, their lord to the uttermost who is weary because of them, (as well as) the lord of every land, who dawns for them, the Aten of the daytime, great of awe.[11]

"'As to every distant nation thou makest them to live. Thou hast set a Nile in heaven which descends for them [10] and makes waves on the mountains like the great deep, moistening their fields in their settlements. How excellent are thy ways, O Lord of Eternity! Thou art[12] a Nile in heaven for the strange nations and for all the wild beasts that go upon foot; (but) a Nile which issues from the under-world for Egypt. Thy rays nurse every field: when thou dawnest they live and thrive for thee.

"'Thou makest the seasons to foster all that thou hast made: [11] the winter to cool them and the summer heat that they (?) may taste thee. Thou hast made the heaven afar off in which to shine and look on all that thou hast made.[13] Thou art one; but thou shinest in thy changing forms as the living Aten, rising, gleaming, becoming distant, approaching again (?). Thou didst make millions of formations out of thy single self—cities, villages, fields, road and river. All eyes see thee opposite them. Thou art Aten of the day-time aloft. [12] When thou didst depart, when all men whose faces thou didst create that thou mightest not see [thine (?)] own self [alone?] . . . . (Though) thou art in my heart, there is none

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[1] For this column thus far, see V., ii., which gives the variants [hieroglyphs] and [hieroglyphs] for [hieroglyphs] and [hieroglyphs] and the reading [hieroglyphs].

[2] Cf. Pl. xv., col. 2.

[3] For the passage compare IV., iv.

[4] Or, "all winged (insects) fly: they live."

[5] An error of the scribe for [hieroglyphs]. Cf. IV., xxxii., col. 4. For parallels to the whole passage see IV., xxxiii. (p. 29).

[6] Lit. "to thy face." Read [hieroglyphs].

[7] The writer is led by the thought of the rays which penetrate the deep waters to the manifestation of creative power in the recesses of the human body, where the vital fluids have their rise and place. The hieroglyphic sign for "woman" shows the simple anatomical idea on which the analogy is based.

[8] Cf. I., xxxvi., III., xxix.

[9] Literally "on two feet"; but this restriction is plainly not intended.

[10] [hieroglyph] must be an error for [hieroglyph].

[11] The thought is of the sun setting in the far west as if weary of his task, but rising again in awful majesty.

[12] Emending to [hieroglyphs]. Only the heavenly Nile (the rain) can benefit the desert-dwellers and foreign lands, and there it descends in torrents from the hills, unlike the river of Egypt, whose source is not traceable.

[13] Cf. Part IV., p. 29.

that knoweth thee other than thy son, N. Thou hast caused him to be skilled in thy ways and thy power.

"'The land depends on thee, even as thou hast made them; when thou dawnest they live, when thou settest they die. Thou in thyself art length of days; life is from thee. Eyes are (fixed) [13] on (thy) beauties until thou settest; (then) all labours are set aside. Thou settest on the right (*i.e.* the West); dawning, [thou bringest weal (?)] . . . . for the King. All who run upon foot, since ever thou laidest the foundations of the earth, thou hast raised up for thy son who went forth from thy body, the King of South and North, Nefer-kheperu-ra, who lives on Truth, the lord of diadems, Akhenaten, great in his duration, (and for) the great wife of the King, whom he loves, Lady of the Two Lands, who lives and thrives for ever and ever.'"

B. Shorter Petitions.

1. Tutu. Door: Right Jamb. Plates xiii., xxxiv.

Previous copies:—Mariette, *Voyage dans la Haute Égypte*, Pl. 18 (photograph)[1]; *Mon. du culte d'Atonou*, I., Pl. lii.

Col. 1. Titularies of Aten, the King, and the Queen, commencing: "(Long) live the Father, Horakhti-Aten."

Col. 2. "I have come with praises to thy rays, O living Aten, sole (god). Thou art eternal. Heaven is thy temple in which thou makest thine appearance every [day] to give birth to thy son who issued from thy body, the King of South and North [N.] . . . . the living Aten.

"For the *ka* of the Chamberlain, Tutu, *maakheru*."

Col. 2. "[I] have come [to] thee. My mouth holds Truth, O Aten, who livest thereon. I followed thy son; I did (?) according to his achievements, Ua-en-ra, ruler of Truth, son of Eternity, the living Aten, King of South and North, N. May he grant (?) . . . . . . and thy *ka* before me for ever and ever.

"For the *ka* etc." (as above).

Col. 3. "I have come to thee. My arms adore thee. My eyes see thee unceasingly. Thou art the breath . . . . goodly burial in the cliff of Akhetaten, the true (?) resting-place.

"For the *ka* etc." (as above).

Col. 4. "I have [come] to thee, O Aten, who created himself (?).[2] Thou hast given birth to thy son . . . . like the elect.

"For the *ka*" (as above).

2. Tutu. Door: Left Jamb. Plates xv., xxxiv.[3]

Previous copies:—Mariette (*v. supra*); Lepsius, *D. Text*, II., p. 146 (partial); *Mon. du culte d'Atonou*, I., Pl. lii.

Col. 1. (Titularies as before).

Col. 2. "I have come to thee, O living Aten! Truth has made her throne in me. I am not insolent; I do not falsehood: [I do not] anything which is hateful[4] to thy son . . . . Akhenaten, great in his duration. Grant [to me] water (?) and air of the gift of the *ka* of the King.

"For the *ka* of the Overseer of all the commissions of the Lord of the Two Lands, Tutu, *maakheru*."

Col. 3. "I have come to thee, O Aten! I make an obeisance to thy beautiful beams. Send thyself on thy son (?) (for) my arms are in praise (?) . . . . O son of the sun, Akhenaten, great in his duration, grant a reception of food in the hall of the *Benben*.

"For the *ka* of the Overseer of all works of His Majesty, Tutu, *maakheru*."

Col. 4. "I have come to thee, O Aten! I am a servant whom the Lord of the Two Lands (?) fostered . . . . He it is who made me . . . . . . I am sated (?) with his wealth . . . . . . like (?) Aten, great of . . . . . The son of the sun, Akhenaten [great in his duration]. Grant me thy bounty (?) . . . . for ever and ever.

"For the *ka* of the Overseer of the silver and gold of the Lord of the Two Lands [Tutu], *maakheru*."

Col. 5. "I have [come] to thee, O Aten! I adore thy beauty.[5] . . . . He issued from thee. O son of the sun, Akhenaten, [great in his duration], grant . . . . sight of thee daily (?).

"For the *ka* of the Chamberlain, Tutu, *maakheru*."

Col. 6. "O son of the sun, Akhenaten . . . . . in my pavilion (?) unceasingly.

"For the *ka* etc." (as above).

Col. 7. "O son of the sun, Akhenaten . . . . . . for ever and ever.

"For the *ka* etc." (as above).

Panel. ". . . . . Aten. May he grant it . . . . . . Thou (?) art satisfied with Truth . . . . . thou hast issued from him; thou fulfillest his duration (?) with . . . . to the place every day. May he grant (?) . . . . . she listens to Ua-en-ra. Grant . . . . eternally. For . . . ."

3. Tutu. Inner Portal; Panel. Plate xiv.

"Praise to thy *ka*, O living Aten! Thou hast assigned (?) to me a term of life . . . . . as a favourite of his lord.

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[1] After the completion of the plate my attention was drawn to this early photograph of Mariette's by Miss Porter, whose Index of published inscriptions will, it is to be hoped, appear before long. Another photograph of the door in its uninjured state is given by Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, p. 329. Supplementary readings from Mariette are given on Plate xxxiv.

[2] Suggested reading [hieroglyphs].

[3] Containing a restoration of the injured parts from Mariette's photograph.

[4] Restoring [hieroglyphs].

[5] Reading [hieroglyphs].

"For the *ka* of the Chamberlain of the Lord of the Two Lands, Tutu, ..."

4. TUTU. Architraves. Plate xiv.

Introduction. Titularies of the Aten, the King and the Queen, commencing "Long live the Father, Horakhti-Aten" (A B).

There follows on the South Architrave (B E):

"The ruler is born like the Aten, stable to eternity even as he, fulfilling the million of *sed*-festivals which the Aten, who lives and gives life for ever, has decreed for him."

The North Architrave (B D) continues:

"She (the Queen) sees the Ruler daily without fail. He is (like) the Aten, his father, he who thrives and lives for ever, the Lord of the Two Lands, N., who gives life for ever and ever."

The West Architrave (B C) continues:

"[Thou art] praised, [O] living Aten, by all that thou hast made. They adore thee, even as thou hast made them; they live by thee eternally . . . . all that thou hast created, made (?) . . . . . gleaming on their bodies. Thou shinest on me; and, seeing thee, I live."

5. TUTU. Ceiling of Entrance. Plate xiv.

North Border:

"Mayest thou rise in the morning in thine eternal resting-place to see Aten (when) he rises. Mayest thou purify thyself and take fine linen even as when thou wast on earth.

"For the *ka* of the favourite of the good god, the Chamberlain, Tutu."

Mid Column:

"Mayest thou adore Aten and may he give thee airs. May his rays refresh thy body. Mayest thou raise thyself up and forget languor, and may he give life to thy face (?) by the sight of him.

"For the *ka* of the Chief Servitor of Nefer-kheperu-ra in the barge, the Chamberlain, Tutu."

South Border:

"Mayest thou follow Aten, like his favourites, in the court of the hall of the *Benben*, and make obeisance to his rays when thou art in the true (?) resting-place.

"For the *ka* of the Chamberlain, Tutu."

6. TUTU. Ceiling of Hall. Plate xii.

North Border (A):

". . . . . chief servitor (?) of Aten . . . . . . salute thee in the morning. For the *ka* [of] the Chamberlain of the Lord of the Two Lands, the Overseer of the Treasury . . . . . the Aten in the house of Aten in [Akhetaten], Tutu."

South Border (C):

". . . . . thy name stable to eternity. May it not be to seek on that which he (?) has done [1] . . . . thy house (?) on the horizon wherein the King . . . . . .

"For the *ka* of the . . . . of the Lord of the Two Lands . . . . . in Akhetaten, Tutu."

[1] Cf. Pl. xv., col. 13.

7. AŸ. Door: Jambs. Plate xxiv.

Previous copy:—*Mon. du culte d'Atonou*, I., Pl. xv.

Left Jamb:

Col. 1, 2.—Titularies of the Aten, the King and the Queen. A parallel to the opening phrases is given on the inner door-jambs (Pl. xxxii.).[2]

Col. 3.—". . . . . Nefer-kheperu-ra. Grant a sight of thee on the eastern horizon, until at length thou settest in life.

"For the *ka* of the favourite of the good god, bearer of the fan on the right hand of the King, acting scribe of the King, beloved by him, the father of the god, Aÿ, living anew."

Col. 4.—". . . . . flourishing (?) for ever . . . . so long as thou endurest His Majesty endures, the son of the sun, Akhenaten, great in his duration. Grant thou that I follow thee as thy favourite.

"For the *ka* of the favourite of the good god, bearer of the fan, etc., overseer of all the horses of His Majesty, acting scribe, etc., the father of the god, Aÿ, *maakheru*."

Col. 5.—". . . . . long duration to the King (?) and to the great royal wife, Nefertiti, living for ever and ever. Grant that I live in receipt of his bounty. I am a servant whom His Majesty fostered.

"For the *ka* of the favourite, etc., the bearer, etc., giving satisfaction in the entire land, the scribe, etc., the father of the god, Aÿ, living anew."

Col. 6.—"The living Aten comes . . . . whom no (?) other knoweth save (?) thy son,[3] the King of South and North, N. Grant me a life happy in seeing thy beauty daily without fail.

"For the *ka* of the favourite of the good god, the nurse of the chief wife of the King, Nefertiti, who lives for ever and ever, Tyi, *maatkheru*."

Right Jamb:

Cols. 7, 8.—As on the opposite jamb.

Col. 9.—". . . . . . . thou hast filled . . . . Thou art beautiful, great, shining . . . . thy son, the King of South and North, N.

"Grant to me food offered before thee, until an old age of thy giving comes on.[4]

"For the *ka* etc." (titles as in col. 3).

Col. 10.—"Comes . . . . these completely. His son . . . .

[2] For the usual "within the house of Aten" these jambs give "lord of the house of Aten." The agreement of *nb* with *shnnt*, which is here made clear by the feminine terminations (cf. Pls. xx., xxvii., xxxii.; III., xvi.; V., iii.), shows that the phrase is to be translated "lord of all that Aten encircles," and not "lord of Aten" as the parallel phrases which follow suggest.

[3] Cf. Pl. xxvii., cols. 8, 12.

[4] Reading [hieroglyphs].

. . . . the son of the sun, Akhenaten, great in his duration. Grant that I be satisfied by seeing thee unfailingly (?).[1]

"For the *ka* etc." (titles as in col. 6).

Col. 11.—"The living Aten comes, who himself gives birth to himself every day. The land is in festival (?) when thou risest (?) . . . . thou settest in . . . . . for the chief wife of the King, Nefertiti, who lives for ever and ever.

"Grant pleasure and joy . . . . . . of Ua-en-ra.

"For the *ka* etc." (titles as in col. 5).

Col. 12.—". . . . . saith (?) thy . . . . Thou dawnest to give to him eternity, that he may conduct the land to Him who set him on His throne and cause the land to belong to Him who made him,[2] the King of South and North, N. Grant that my *ka* may be lasting and thriving, resting happily (?) in Akhetaten.

"For the *ka* of the favourite of the good god, the great nurse and tutoress of the Queen, and hand-maid of the King, Tyi, *maatkheru*."

8. Aÿ. Inner Door; Lintel. Plate xxxi.[3]

Previous copies:—Hay, *MSS.*, 29814, fol. 13; 29847, fol. 66; Lepsius, *D.*, III., 105 *f*; *D. Text*, II., p. 144.

Left Side. "An ascription of praise to the Aten and an obeisance to his beloved son, Lord of the Two Lands, N. Long life at thy hand, which thou givest to him whom thou lovest! The land (?) lives by thine enrichment. How fortunate is he who puts thee in his heart. Verily he achieveth old age in happiness!

"For the *ka* of the favourite of the good god, bearer of the fan on the right hand of the King, the acting scribe whom he loves, father of the god, Aÿ."

Right Side. "An ascription of praise to the Aten and an obeisance to the Lord of Eternity.

"Praises shall be given to thee (when) thou dawnest on the horizon until thy setting in life. May my favours be steady every day before (?) Ua-en-ra until the coming of an old age of his giving with rewards and happiness.

"For the *ka* of . . . . Aÿ" (titles as above).

9. Aÿ. Inner Door: Jambs. Plates xxxii., xxxiv.

Previous copies:—Hay, *MSS.*, 29847, fol. 66; Lepsius, *D.*, III., 107 *d* (left jamb only).[4]

Right Jamb.

Col. 1.—Titulary of Aten.

Col. 2.—Titulary of the King (in full) and of the Queen.[5]

Col. 3.—"The bearer of the fan on the right hand of the King; the overseer of all the horses of the Lord of the Two Lands (of 'His Majesty' in col. 8); the acting scribe of the King, whom he loves; the father of the god, Aÿ, *maakheru*,[6] saith, 'I was eminent, possessing character, successful in opportunities, contented of disposition, kindly, desiring . . . . .[7] following the *ka* of His Majesty, according as he commanded. I heard his voice unceasingly. The end thereof was rewards and an old age in peace.'"

Col. 4.—"The bearer of the fan on the right hand of the King, a companion great of winning (?) the heart to him ('great of access to his lord,' col. 6), the acting scribe, etc., Aÿ, living anew, saith:

"'I was one loyal to the King, to him who fostered him, scrupulous towards the Lord of the Two Lands, one serviceable to his lord, seeing his beauty when he appears in his palace. I was head[8] of the great ones (?), the companions of the King, chief of those that follow his lord.

"'He sets truth in my inward parts. Falsehood is an abomination. I live by adoring his *ka*. I am made content by seeing him.'"

Col. 5.—"The bearer of the fan on the right hand of the King, beloved of the Lord of the Two Lands on account of his achievements (col. 10, 'filling the heart of the King in all the land'), the acting scribe, etc., Aÿ, *maakheru*,[9] saith,

"'O every one that loves[10] life and desires a happy term, adore ye the King unique like Aten, save whom none other is great. (For) he gives to you a life of delight, plenty and fatness of his giving.'"

Left Jamb.

Col. 6.—As in col. 1.

Col. 7.—As in col. 2.

Col. 8.—(Titles as in col. 3, save for variants given there.) "Aÿ, living anew, saith:

"'I was a favourite of his lord in every-day matters. My rewards were greater in each year than in its predecessor because of the exceeding greatness of my excellence in his

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[1] [hieroglyphs] was probably intended, but there has been a similar correction on both jambs by the sculptor. Cf. Pl. xxxii.

[2] Cf. V., ii., col. 7.

[3] From Lepsius, with a few corrections from Hay.

[4] Wrongly assigned there to the tomb of Parennefer (L., *D. Text*, II., p. 144). Hence the erroneous attribution of two tombs to Aÿ at El Amarna by Prof. Petrie and others. As this jamb is now almost wholly destroyed, my copy has been taken from Lepsius without altering the false scale. After Plate xxxii. was printed, Dr. Ranke, of Berlin, kindly furnished me with a copy of the squeeze of the left jamb (135). The consequent changes will be found on Pl. xxxiv. The few readings adopted from Hay are shown by a tick in the margin. Asterisks mark obviously necessary emendations; but for the right jamb consult Pl. xxxiv. Extant signs are in solid black. Breasted (*Records*, II., p. 408) has a partial translation from his own copies.

[5] For translations of these epithets, see below

[6] Plate xxxii. is to be corrected here.

[7] Hay marks the spot as damaged.

[8] Reading [hieroglyphs]. Cf. Pl. xxv., col. 12.

[9] Plate xxxii. is to be corrected.

[10] I should have printed [hieroglyphs].

judgment (heart). He multiplies for me my rewards like the number of the sands (for) I am chief of the great ones and head of the *Rekhyt*.' "

Col. 9.—(Titles as in col. 4, save for variants given there.) "Aÿ, *maakheru*, saith :

" 'I was truly accurate, free from insolence. My fame reached the palace,[1] for serviceableness to the King, and for obedience to his teaching, performance of his ordinances,[2] not altering words (?) or lessening achievements. I was great in closing (?) the mouth [3] . . . . . He prospers that prays to him for a good old age, loving life.' "

Col. 10.—(Titles as in col. 5, save for variant given there.) "Aÿ, living anew, saith :

" 'O every one that liveth on earth, every generation that springs up, I declare unto you the way of life, I bear witness to you of rewards! Would that ye might read my name because of that which I did; (for) I was true on earth.

" 'Make praises to the living Aten and ye shall flourish in life. Say ye to him, "Give health to the Ruler (*bis* ?)," and he will multiply rewards for you.' "

10. AŸ. Architrave. Plate xxxii.[4]

Previous copies:—HAY, *MSS.*, 29847, fol. 65; L'HÔTE, *Papiers*, III., 297; LEPSIUS, *D.*, III., 105 *b*, *c*; *D. Text*, II., p. 143 (west architrave).

"(Long) live the good god, who rejoices in truth, lord of all that Aten encircles, lord of heaven, lord of earth, the living and great Aten, who illumines the Two Lands.

"(Long) live the Father, Horakhti-Aten,[5] who gives life for ever and ever, the living and great Aten, who is in the *sed*-festival in the house of Aten in Akhetaten; the Living Horus 'Strong bull, beloved of Aten,' the Two Mistresses 'Great of Sovereignty in Akhetaten,' the Golden Horus 'Uplifting the Name of Aten,' the King of South and North, 'He who lives on truth, Lord of the Two Lands, Nefer-kheperu-ra-Ua-en-ra,' the Son of the sun, 'He who lives on truth, Lord of diadems, Akhenaten, Great in his duration'; and the chief wife of the King, Nefer-neferu-aten-Nefertiti, living for ever and ever."

11. AŸ. Ceiling inscriptions. Plates xxv., xxxiii.

Previous copy:—*Mon. du culte d'Atonou*, I., Pl. xxii.

A. Entrance; West Border.

"Praise to thee, O living Aten, who hast made heaven and the hidden things (?) which are therein. He is in face of . . . . for his beloved son. He has prolonged (?) him by a million of *sed*-festivals. The chief wife of the King, whom he loves, lady of the Two Lands, Nefertiti, who lives for ever and ever, is at the side of Ua-en-ra.[6]

"Grant (?) to me handsome burial, such as thou makest in the great cliff of Akhetaten. For the *ka* of . . . . Aÿ, who lives anew."

B. Entrance; Middle Column.

"Praise to thee, O living Aten! He dawns [to] give life to all that he encircles, who made earth and created their herbage to give life to all that he has made . . . . They [flutter ?] at seeing his rays. His son . . . . he rises on the horizon. Grant that [he] flourish for ever like thyself . . . . the scribe of the King, father of the god, Aÿ . . . . "

C. Entrance; East Border.

"[Praise] to thee, the living Aten, the god who made this in its entirety. Though thou art in heaven, thy rays are [upon the earth][7] . . . . Ua-en-ra, whom thou lovest, ... thy . . . . . who issued from thy rays, the son of the sun, Akhenaten . . . . never . . . ."

D. Hall; West Border. (Pl. xxxiii.)

"An adoration of thee . . . . thy beauty, O living Aten, dispenser of life! Mayest thou see the rays of Ra when he dawns and gives light at the mouth of thy tomb-chamber! Mayest thou inhale the air of the north wind! May thy body . . . . with graced life; a favoured one who has reached old age with favours, a righteous one who has done the word of his lord. Thou wert chief among the companions of the King, and thou art likewise the head of the glorified dead. Mayest thou take changing forms as a living soul (*ba*) in the noble cliff of Akhetaten. Mayest thou go out and in at the bidding of thy heart. May thy rank be proclaimed on earth and mayest thou be provided with wealth beside thy god, following thy heart at the time of thy desire. May thy tomb-chamber be in festival every day. Mayest (thou have) an honoured old age (*amakh*) happy and in peace, and as the end of this, [funeral] and interment, and proximity (?) to the King Ua-en-ra!

"I was a servant whom his lord fostered and whom he buried; (for) my mouth held truth. How glorious is he who does his teaching! May he reach the region (i.e. the necropolis) of the elect.

"For the *ka* of the favourite of the good god, true of heart to him who opened[8] the heart to him, abandoning

---

1 should have been printed, from Hay.

2 must be meant.

3 Hay reads .

4 Where read "East," not "West" Architrave. The other inscription differs from this only in two points of spelling. The two small injuries are repaired from the copy of Lepsius.

5 This double introduction seems to indicate a theological distinction of the Sun, the good god, Aten, who gives light from heaven, and the Father, Horakhti- (or Ra-)Aten, who dwells in the temple.

6 Reading . Cf. I., xxxvi.

7 Cf. Pl. xxvii., Col. 3; Pl. xv., Col. 2.

8 Reading .

sin[1] to do truth, a favourite who has attained thus far with favour, bearer of the fan, etc., Aÿ, *maakheru*."

E. Hall; East Border.

"Mayest thou adore Ra whenever he rises; mayest thou see him, and may he listen to what thou sayest. May he grant breath to thee, and may he knit thy limbs. Mayest thou go out and in like a favourite of his. May thy corpse thrive and thy name abide . . . . for thy *ka*. Mayest thou inhale the air of the north wind. May there be given to thee offerings and provisions; mayest thou receive loaves of the King's giving, bread and beer and provisions for every shrine of thine. May thy name fare well on thy tomb; may each generation as it arises call upon thee. Mayest thou rest in thy tomb of the King's gift in the necropolis of Akhetaten, (and) may there be made a *dy hetep seten* of bread and beer as offerings to thy *ka*. Mayest thou secure thine everlasting resting-place; may thine eternal mansion receive thee. May an ox draw thee (?) (*i.e.* to the tomb); may an embalmer and a lector (?) (walk) in front of thee, purifying the (funeral) bark with milk, their number being such as the King Ua-en-ra decrees for a favourite whom he has promoted. May he bring thee to the resting-place of the elect as one who has completed his life with good. May thy tomb be in festival every day, according to thy plans when thou wast alive. It is thy god who hath furthered them for thee, the living Aten, lord of eternity, and they are established to endless eternity for a righteous man, free from doing falsehood.

"For the *ka* of the favourite, etc., Aÿ, *maakheru*."

F. Hall; Middle Column.

"An adoration of thee (when) thou risest on the horizon, O Aten, Horus of the two horizons![2] Thou shalt not fail to see Ra; open thy eyes to behold him.[3] When thou prayest[4] to him may he hear what thou sayest. May the breath of life enter into thy nostril (?).[5] Arranging thyself[6] on thy right side, mayest thou lay thyself on thy left side. May thy soul (*ba*) be merry in the necropolis (?).[7] May the children of thy house offer to thee bread, beer, water, air to thy *ka*. Mayest thou travel[8] freely to the gates of the under-world. Mayest thou see Ra at morn when he rises on the eastern horizon, and mayest thou see Aten when he sets on the western horizon of heaven. May there be given to thee offerings and provisions from the altars (?) of the house of Aten: may there be given to thee incense and libations on the living (?) stairway (?)[9] of Aten by the King, the son of the Aten, who has decreed it to thee for ever. Mayest thou receive (it) and go forth in his presence every day without fail. Mayest thou receive abundance in the necropolis. May thy soul rest in thy tomb: may thy soul not be repulsed from its desires, (but) be satisfied with the daily offerings. May the heart (*ib*) be lasting, the heart (*hati*) preserving itself at the side of the lord of eternity. May thy name be mentioned every day for ever and ever, like what is done for a (dead) favourite, worthy even as thou.

"For the *ka* of one stable in favour in the presence of the Lord of the Two Lands, the father of the god, Aÿ, *maakheru*."

---

1 Reading [hieroglyphs].

2 Reading [hieroglyphs] for [hieroglyphs] from the parallel opening, V., ii.

3 Cf. V., ii.

4 Emending to [hieroglyphs].

5 [hieroglyphs] is probably to be read.

6 [hieroglyphs] ought to have been printed.

7 Reading [hieroglyphs]. See *Mon. du culte d'Atonou*, I., Pl. xxii.

8 Reading [hieroglyphs]. *Ibid.*

9 In the house built over the palace pavement at El Till there is a block of stone which has apparently formed a parapet, having cartouches of Aten (the older form) on the top and scenes of worship by the King and Queen at the sides. The Aten is named [hieroglyphs], "lord of the earth (dwelling) in the stairway (?) of Aten in the house of Aten in Akhetaten." This probably formed a part of the "stairway" or chapel in question.

APPENDIX.

PICTURES OF THE PALACE.

The four plans of the palace with which we have to do in Plates iv., xvii., xix., xxviii., are manifestly endeavours to present the same conception of the building, and with this two early pictures of the Northern Group mainly agree.[1] Yet so far was the artist from feeling himself bound to show the exact positions or proportion of the various parts that he took little or no trouble to effect it, but contracted, expanded, or distributed his plans to suit the spaces which other scenes left free.[2] Hence, while we may expect to see all the special features of the palace, we do not see them in their exact relations. It would be wasted time, therefore, to try and extract from these pictures alone a ground plan of the palace. And, whereas the impression which they create is of an elongated building,[3] the plans of most of the private houses at El Amarna show a square and compact shape, in which the sleeping rooms and offices are grouped round the great hall instead of extending to the rear.[4]

Our only hope, therefore, is to find help in the remains of the actual building. Professor Petrie claims to have identified it,[5] but the group of buildings which he designates by the term "palace" rather adds to our difficulties than removes them. If, however, we confine our attention to that small part of it in which he sees the harem of the King, and which yielded the chief treasures of decorative art and architecture found within the city, a sufficient resemblance will be found to make an identification plausible. And of course the richness of the decoration and the royal names found freely within the ruined building make it unlikely that this was anything but the palace or an important part of it.

As has been said, the plan of the palace as given in the tombs is little more than an enumeration in picture of its various rooms and parts. It will be well to do the same in words before attempting to bring the diverse pictures into harmony.[6]

The palace as depicted comprises—

1. The Façade, including the *loggia* and porch. It is similar in all these pictures.

2. The Vestibule, consisting either of a room on each side of the *loggia* or a single corridor extending along the entire front. In Pl. iv. there are two columns (so in V., v.). The space is occupied by figures in Pl. xxviii. Pl. xix. has four columns in alignment, Plate xvii. five; so that one is tempted in these two pictures to see not the corridor, but the side colonnade which appears to be shown in V., v. (see below).

3. The Banqueting Hall, supported on several columns (4?) in rows of two. Always made conspicuous by its three entrance doors.

Men's Quarters. (The men's and women's quarters are generally shown beyond the hall, but on each side of it in III., xiii.; VI., iv.)

4. Hall, with two columns and containing two store-closets. Omitted in Pls. iv., xxviii.; displaced (above the *loggia*) for economy of space in Pl. xvii.

5. Dressing-rooms (?). An ante-room leading to two sparsely-furnished rooms (bed- and bath-room?).

6. Store-chamber.

7. Store-chamber, with ante-chamber (columned?) and a second connecting door.

8. A Corridor (or intervening space) with closed door shuts off these apartments from the following Royal Apartments. It is decorated with shrubs (a painted pavement?) in Pl. xvii. (cf. IV., viii.).

9. A Hall with two columns, through which we reach

10. A grand Bed-room, the ceiling or the bed-tester being supported on two duck-columns. The room is provided with a ventilator in the Northern Tombs. The bed is set round with shrubs (painted?) in Pl. iv.

11. A Dressing-room (?) consisting of a columned ante-room, bed-room (?) and bath-room (?).

12. A (columned?) Store-chamber, with ante-room.

The Harem. This, like the store-rooms, is shown in Pl. xxviii. as if it were a detached building set in a garden, but elsewhere both are incorporated in the building.

13. A Saloon with two store-chambers attached to it.

14. A similar set of rooms.

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[1] III., xxxiii.; IV., viii. See also I., xviii., xxvi.; II., xiv., xli.; III., xiii.

[2] The ⊐-shaped design of Pls. xvii., xix., is squeezed into an oblong in Pl. iv.

[3] Such as I have shown in Part III., p. 30.

[4] Petrie, *Tell el Amarna*, Pls. xxxviii.–xl.

[5] *Ib.*, Pl. xxxvi.

[6] In Plate xxxiv. I have given rough diagrams of the four pictures of the palace in this volume, the rooms being identified by the numbers attached to them in the following list.

The proposed grouping of these apartments on the basis afforded by the ground-plan of the ruins [1] will be made clear by the diagram (Pl. xxxiv.).[2]

The following notes on this restoration of the palace may serve to indicate the difficulty or the ease with which each of the above features of the pictured palace fits into the building thus restored.

The most striking incongruity is met with in the wings thrown out on each side of the courtyard, and forming a long corridor supported on handsome columns,[3] with a dwarf wall (?) on the one hand and a series of tiny chambers on the other.[4] They might well be often omitted by the artist as outside the scope of his picture, but we should certainly expect to see this striking feature indicated in pictures of the courtyard in the Northern Group. I think, however, we find it depicted in V., v.; the artist has shown the east instead of the west wing for pictorial reasons, but the servant hurrying from the store-rooms into the interior of the palace is quite in keeping.

1. One would be tempted to take the pictures seriously and place the *loggia* in an upper story over the vestibule, were it not for practical considerations (cf. I., xviii.). The corridor and banqueting-hall received light from above the low walls of the *loggia* in the centre of the façade (III., xxxiv.).

2. For the end doors of the vestibule see II., xiv. The number and grouping of the columns must remain uncertain.

3. The three entrance doors to this hall from the vestibule are not indicated by the ruins, and, of course, may be forbidden by them. If the side doors could mean doors at the ends of the hall this would be more practical (cf. III., xiii.; VI., iv.), and though it is subject to the same censure, I adopt it provisionally. The painted pavement is not suggested in any of the pictures. The walls, when found, were decorated with a dado of domestic scenes appropriate to the room.

4. That the men's quarters should be reached directly from the hall and separately, as here, seems most in consonance with the pictures. The arrangement of the rooms in this section might of course be much altered; I have followed a symmetrical plan as far as possible.

8. The space between the men's and women's quarters, decorated with real or painted plants set round a tank or free centre, corresponds perfectly to the court in the ruins, the border of which was painted with plants. As the walls also were painted with out-door scenes (resembling apparently those of the dado in III., viii.), it is probable that this was a peristyle court on wooden columns, perhaps with trees in boxes in the centre (Pls. xvii., xix., xxviii.). If I remember rightly, there is a tiny water-tank still existing in this court.

9. This hall had also a painted pavement, of which the pictures give no hint. The columns were overlaid with modelled glazed tiles.

10. The royal saloon and bedroom are always in close proximity in the pictures. In Pl. iv. the bedroom and painted (?) corridor of Pl. xvii. seem to have been combined for lack of room. Yet we know that the room opening out of this hall had actually a painted border. The difficulty is that the room is only five feet broad at most. Either, then, it is a corridor leading to the bedroom, or the royal bedroom was upon the roof, as the ventilator shown in several pictures may indicate.

11, 12. The other offices I have placed at the back of the painted court, where they are quite in place. They might lie in an upper story above the harem, for we know that the houses of El Amarna had stairways, and there seems a place for such a construction outside the harem door. But the existence of such an upper suite must remain quite hypothetical.

13, 14. These two rooms confirm the tomb pictures somewhat strikingly, if we assign them to the women.[5] But the small size of the rooms (10 × 12 feet) is surprising.

It is to be hoped that the new excavations which have been begun with such promise by Professor Borchardt will throw additional light on this interesting subject.

[1] Petrie, *ib.* xxxvi.

[2] In this restored plan, which can at the best give only a passable idea of the original building, I have completed the west side with approximate symmetry, inserted rooms in the vacant space in the rear, enclosed the court, added the front and vestibule, and pierced a few doorways (marked with notes of interrogation). The rooms are numbered in accordance with the above list.

[3] Petrie, *ib.*, Pl. vii.

[4] They seem to me to have served as store-rooms rather than cubicles, and the paintings on their walls confirm this. Petrie, *ib.*, p. 15; cf. I., xxxi.

[5] Or they might be the lower stories of the harem and store-rooms respectively.

INDEX.

INDEX OF CROSS REFERENCES.

Note.—By means of this Index many comparisons and a few corrections made subsequently may be inserted in the earlier volumes of the series.

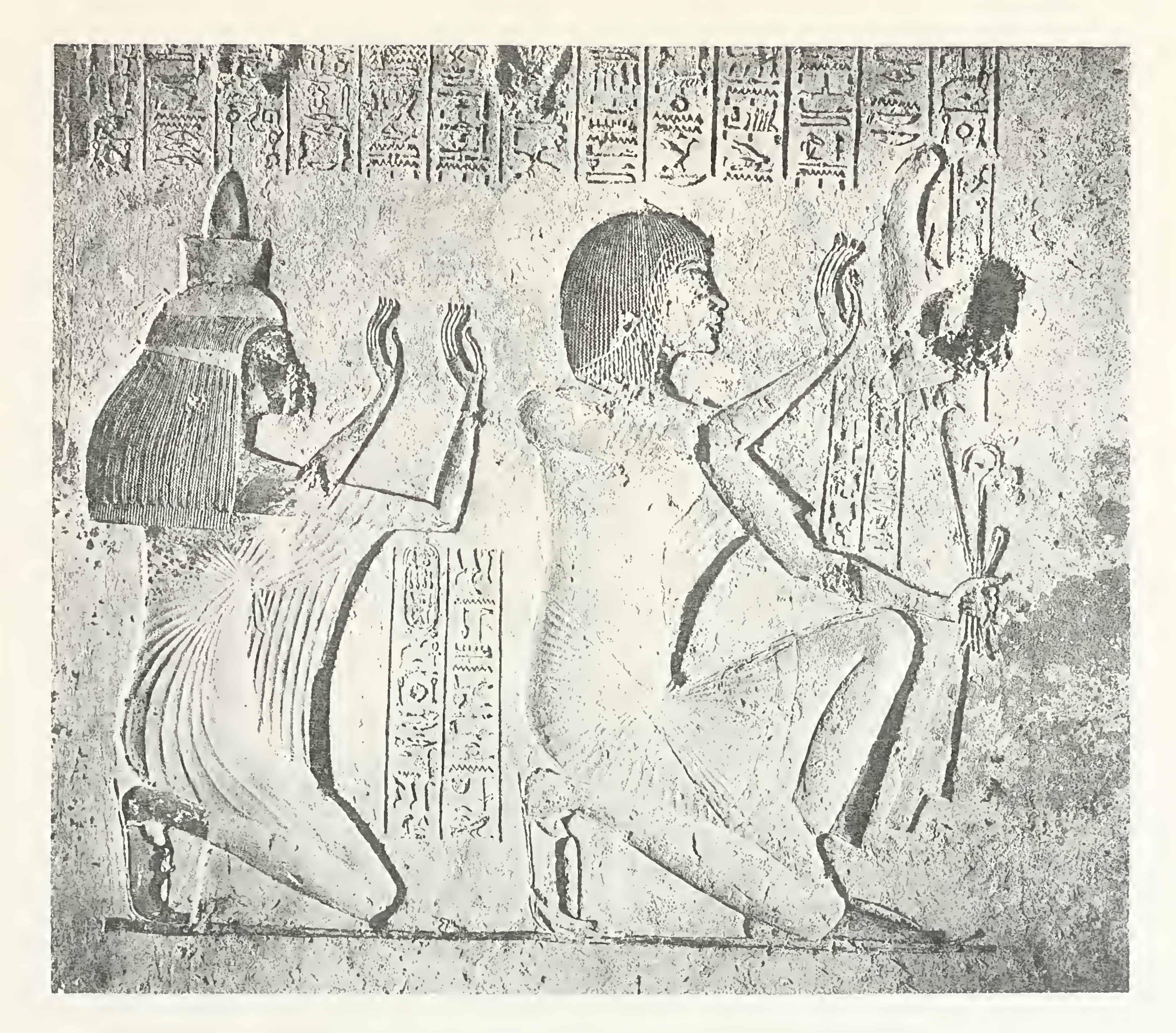
GENERAL INDEX OF TOMBS.

LONDON: PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS, LIMITED, DUKE STREET, STAMFORD STREET, S.E., AND GREAT WINDMILL STREET, W.

PLATES.

NOTE.

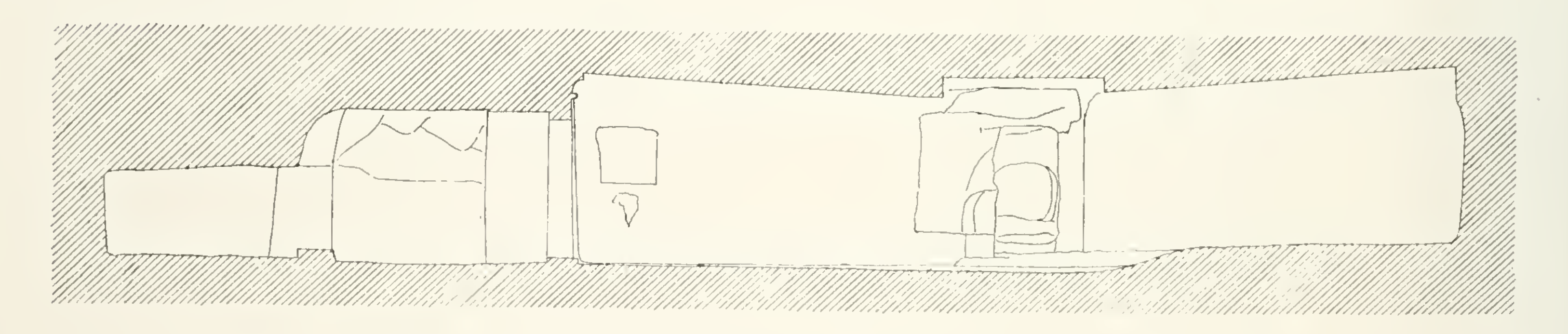
An index to the passages of the text which are explanatory of the several plates will be found on pp. vii., viii.



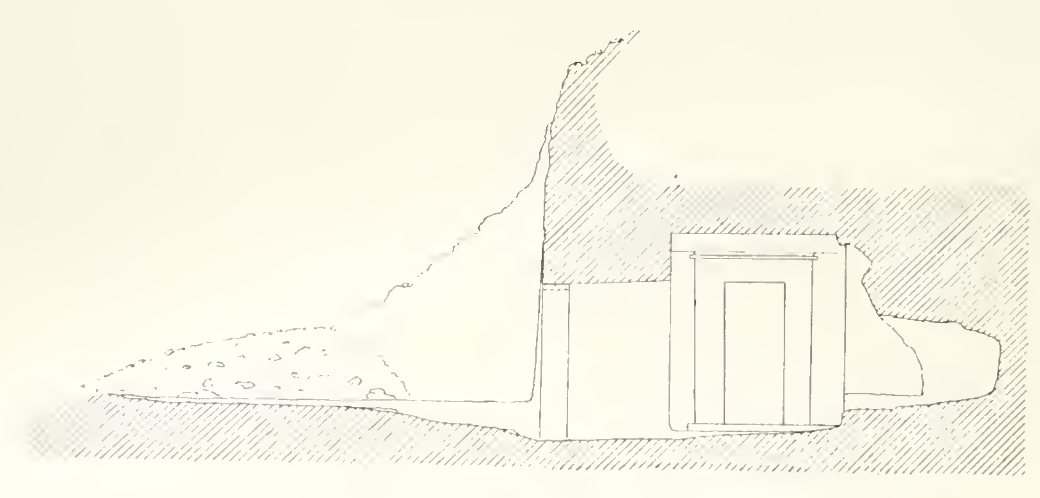
AŸ AND HIS WIFE TYI.

Scale $\frac{1}{22}$

FA



SECTION ON A, B, C, D.



TRANSVERSE SECTION.

Scale $\frac{1}{96}$

DE.

C

B

D

M.N.

Uncleared rubbish

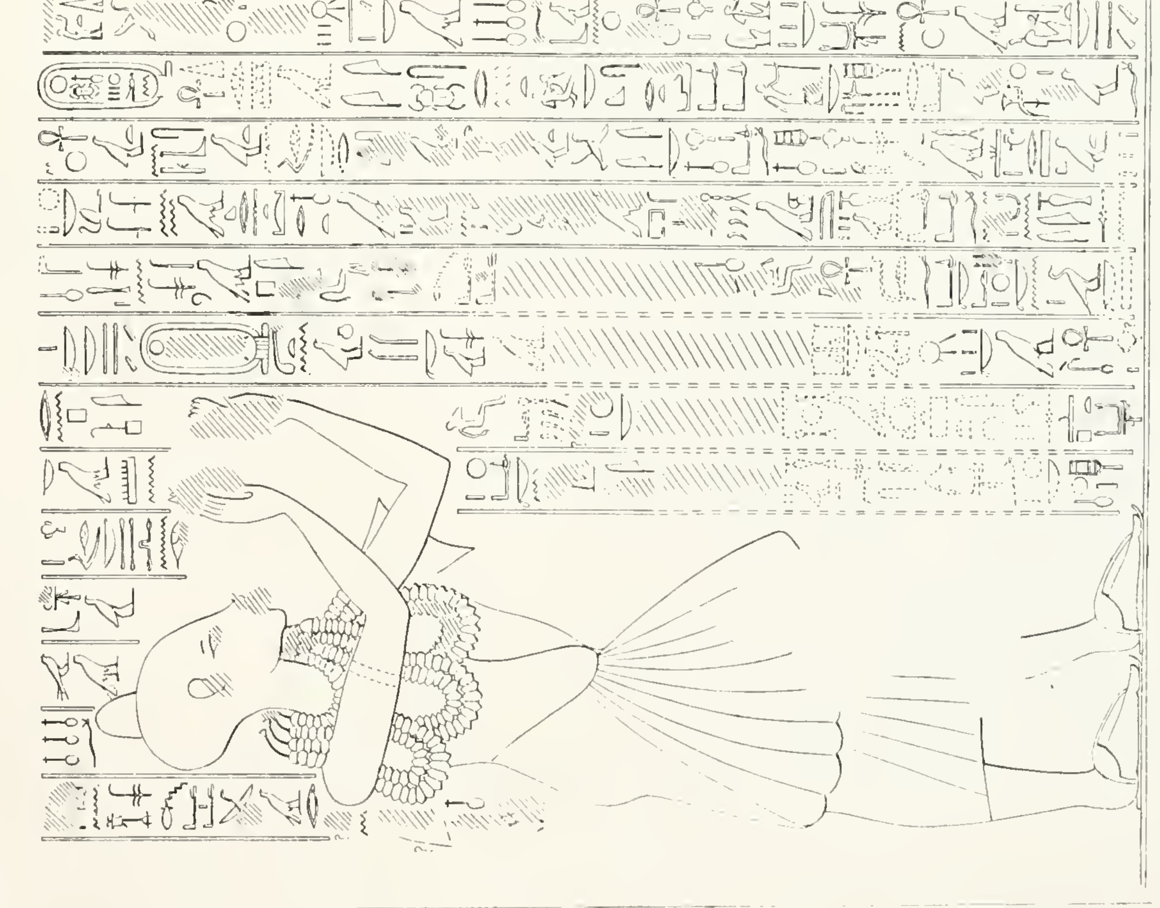
Uncleared rubbish

PLAN.

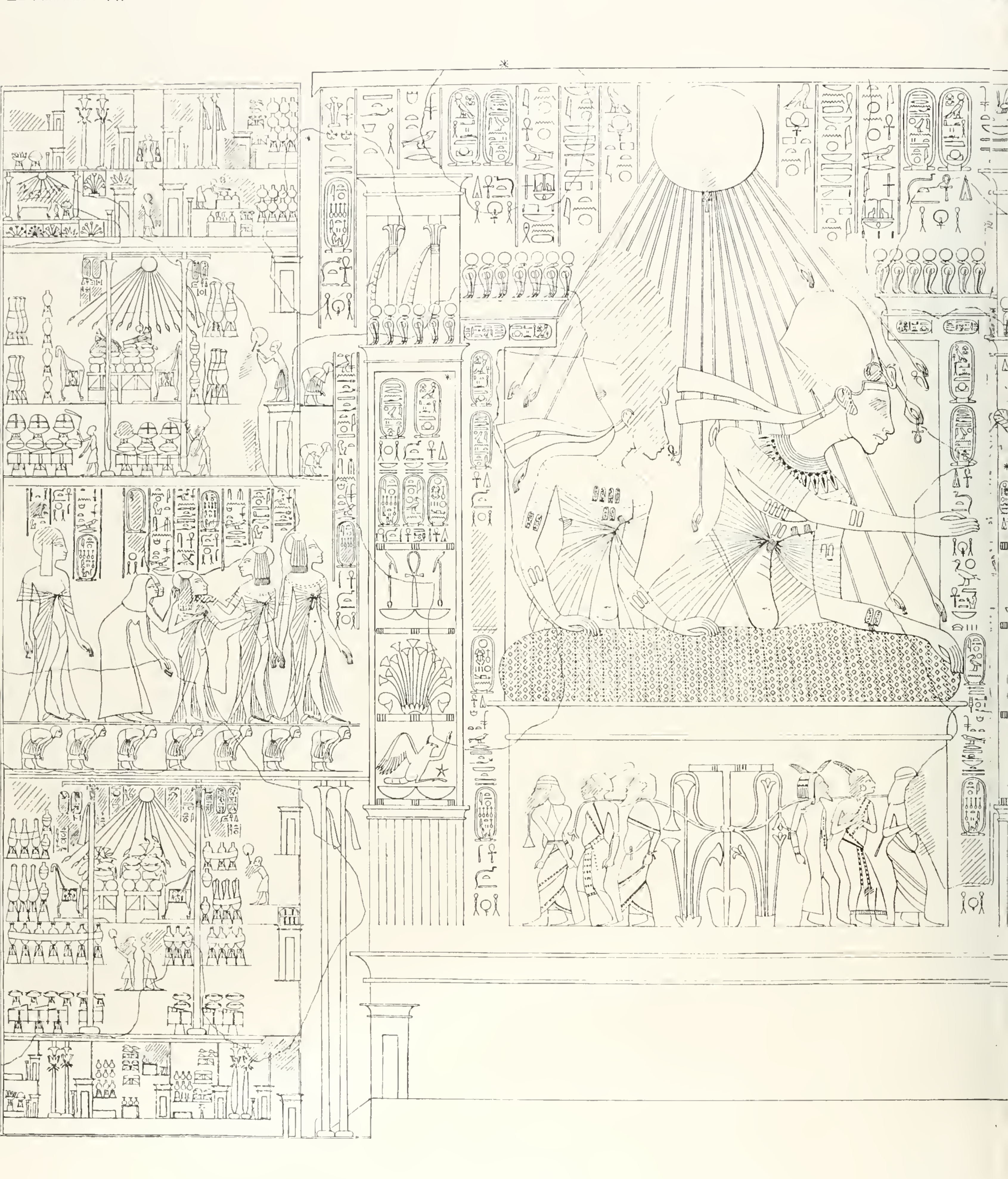
N. THICKNESS

THE ROYAL FAMILY.

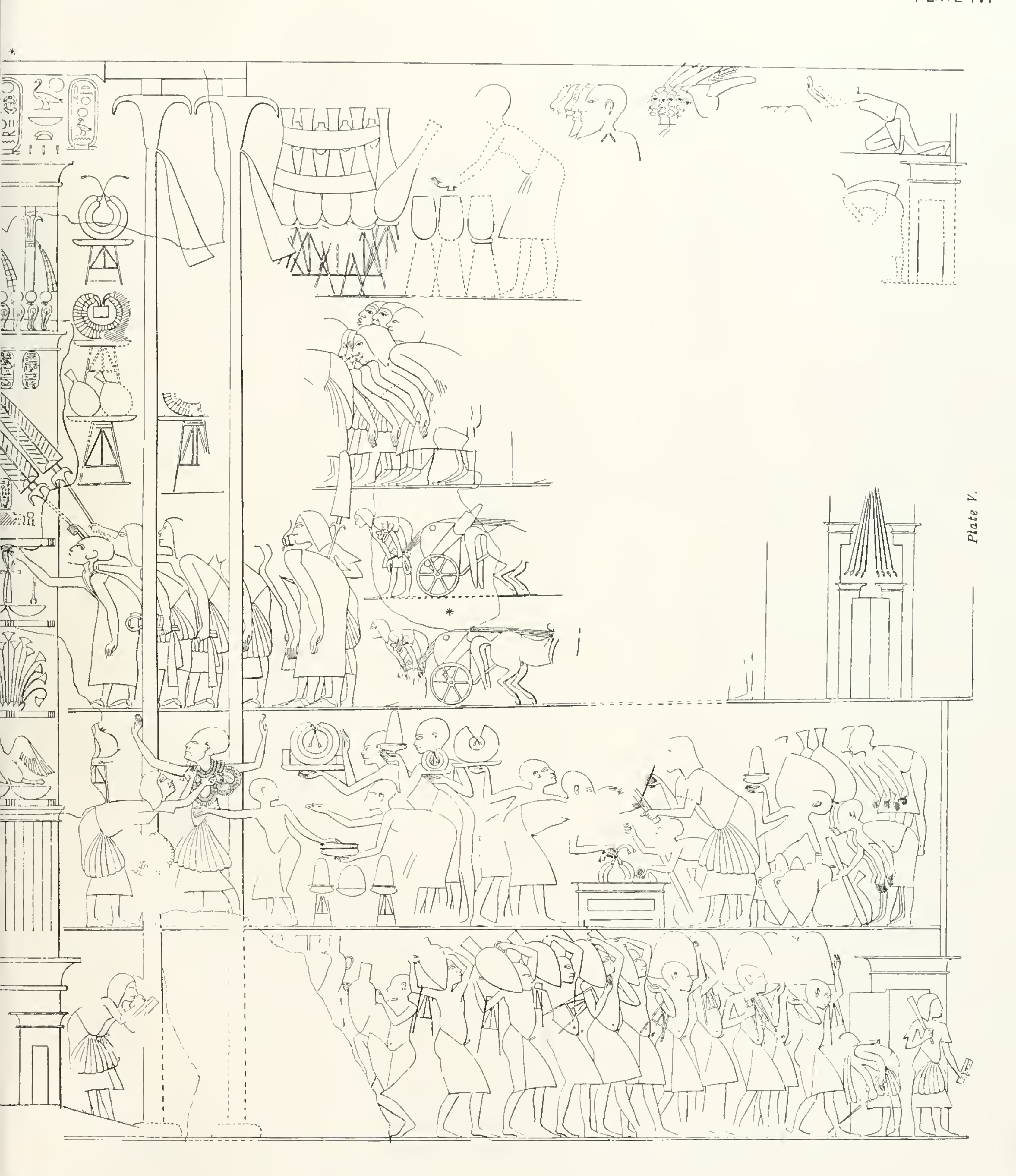
S. THICKNESS



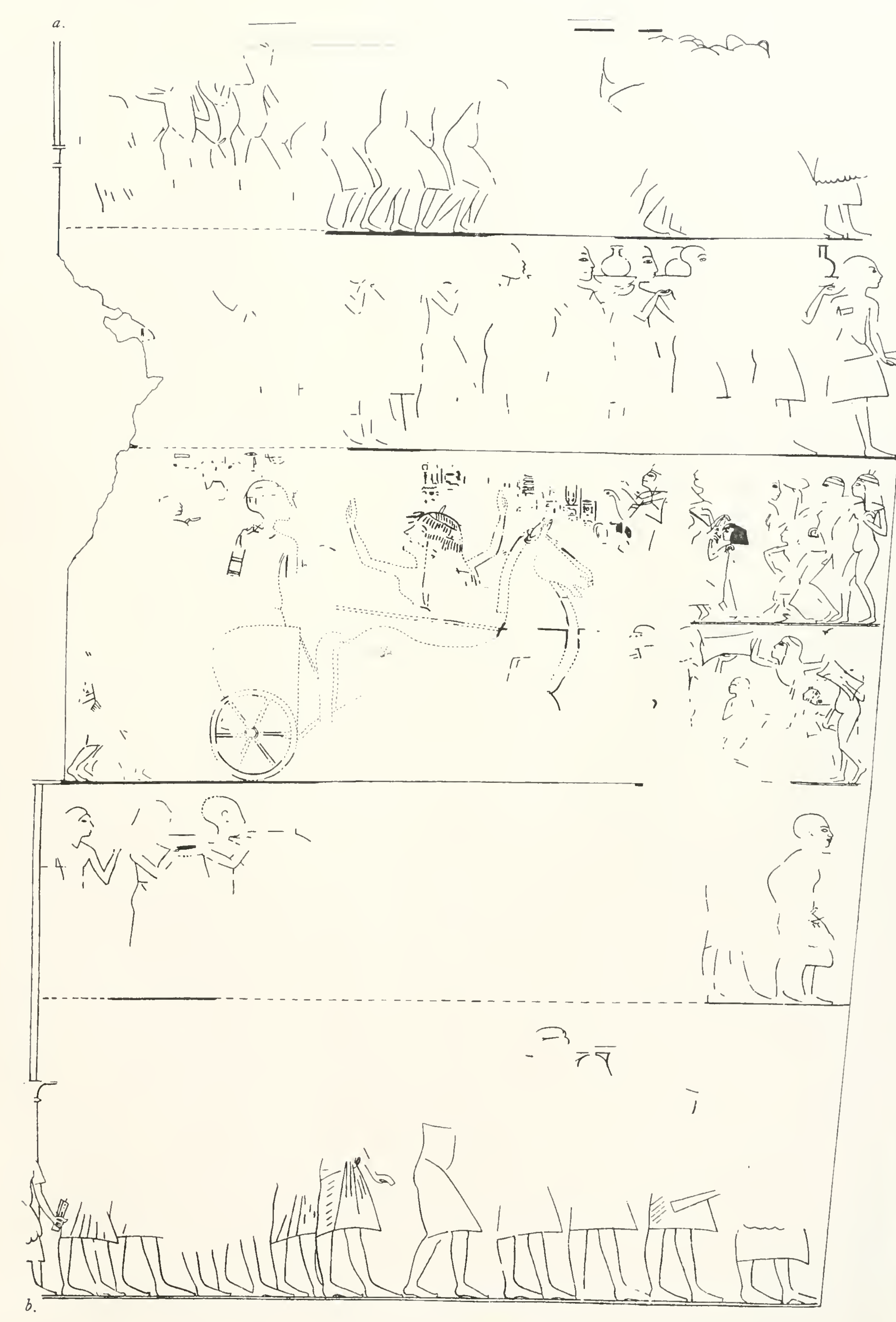
PARENNEFER.



Scale $\frac{1}{9}$



REWARDED.



Scale $\frac{1}{8}$

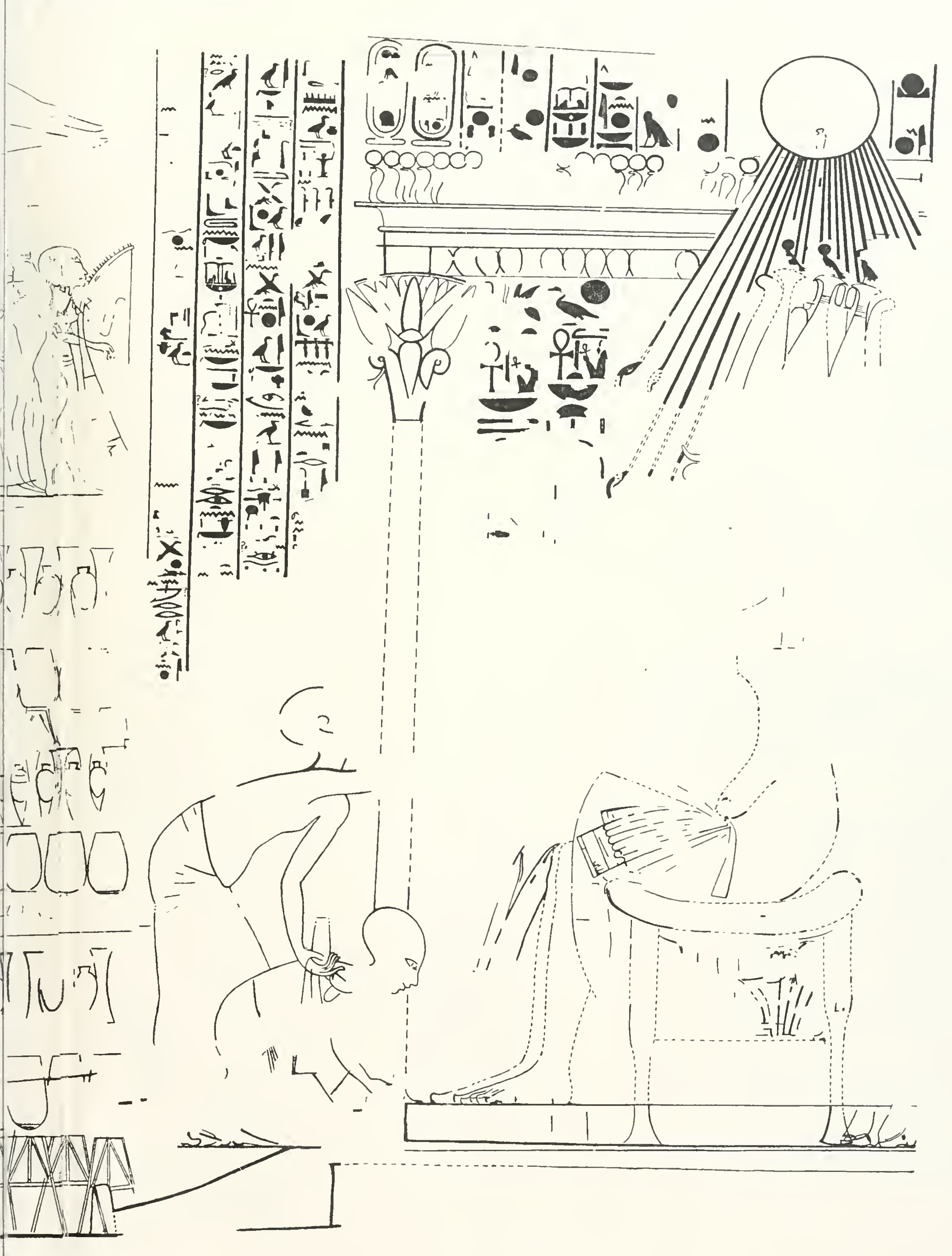
THE SAME (*Continuation in ink.*)





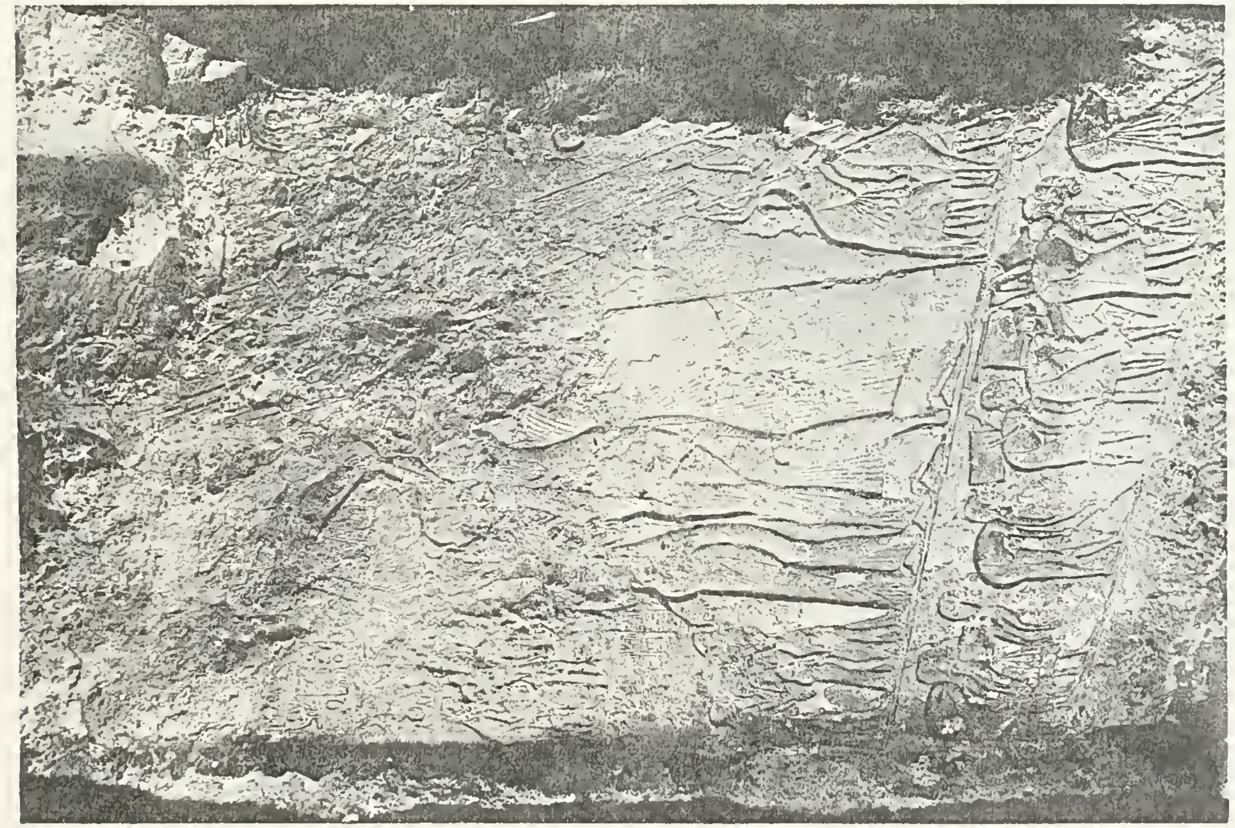
Scale $\frac{1}{8}$

THE K



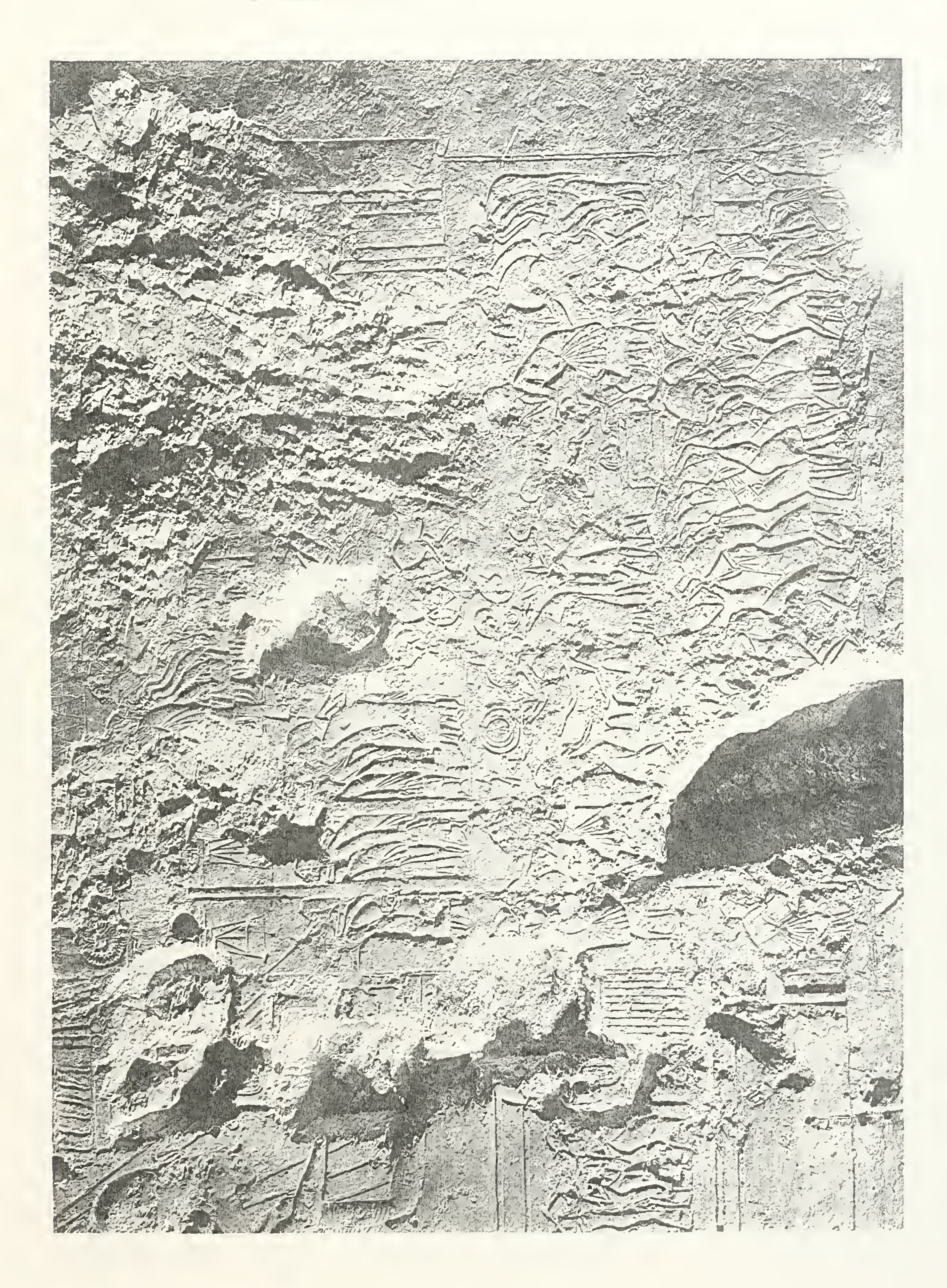
G GIVING AUDIENCE.


SOUTH THICKNESS.

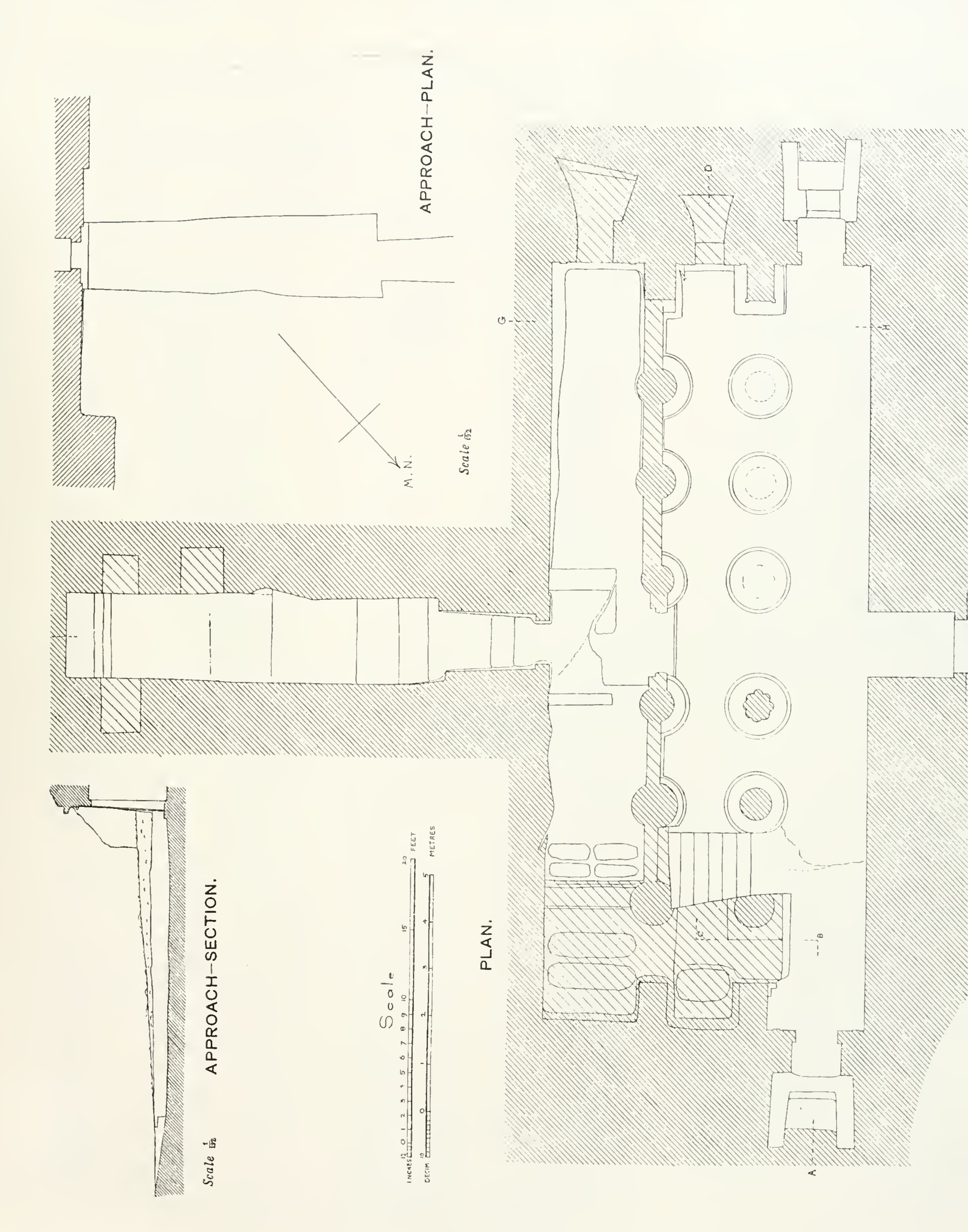

NORTH THICKNESS.

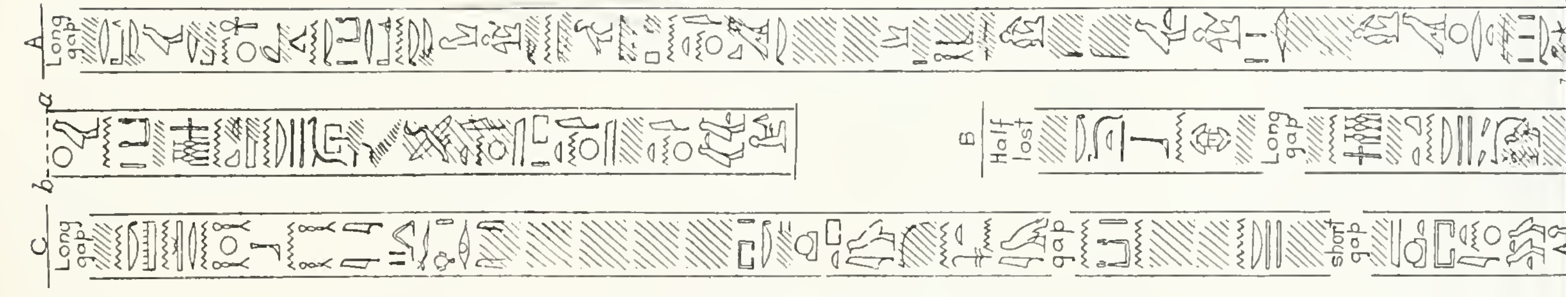


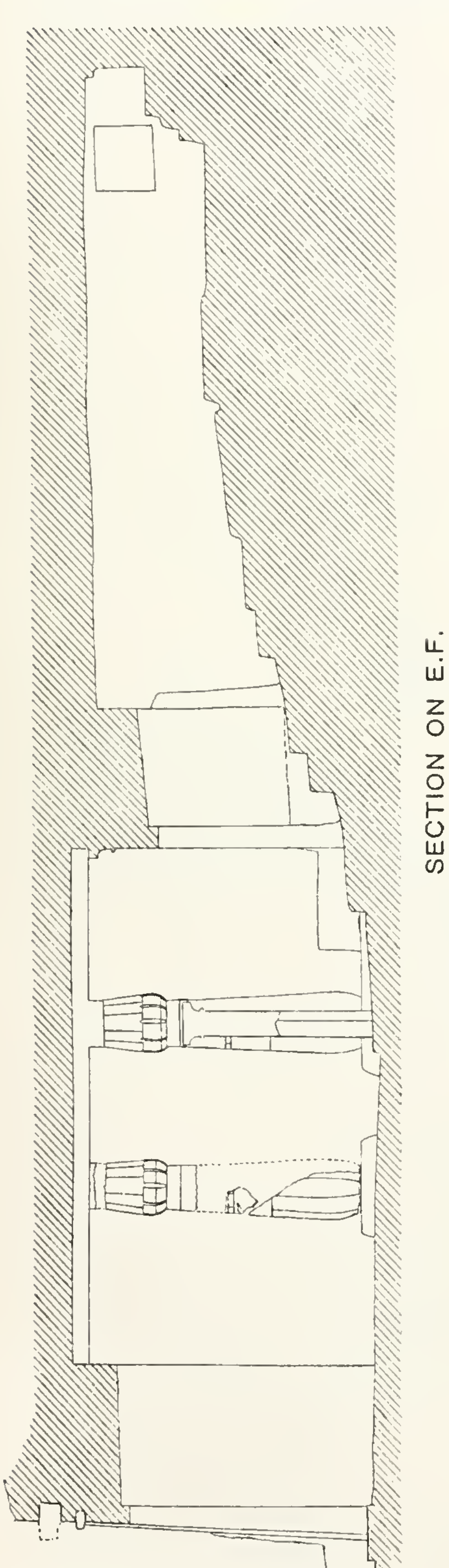
WEST WALL.



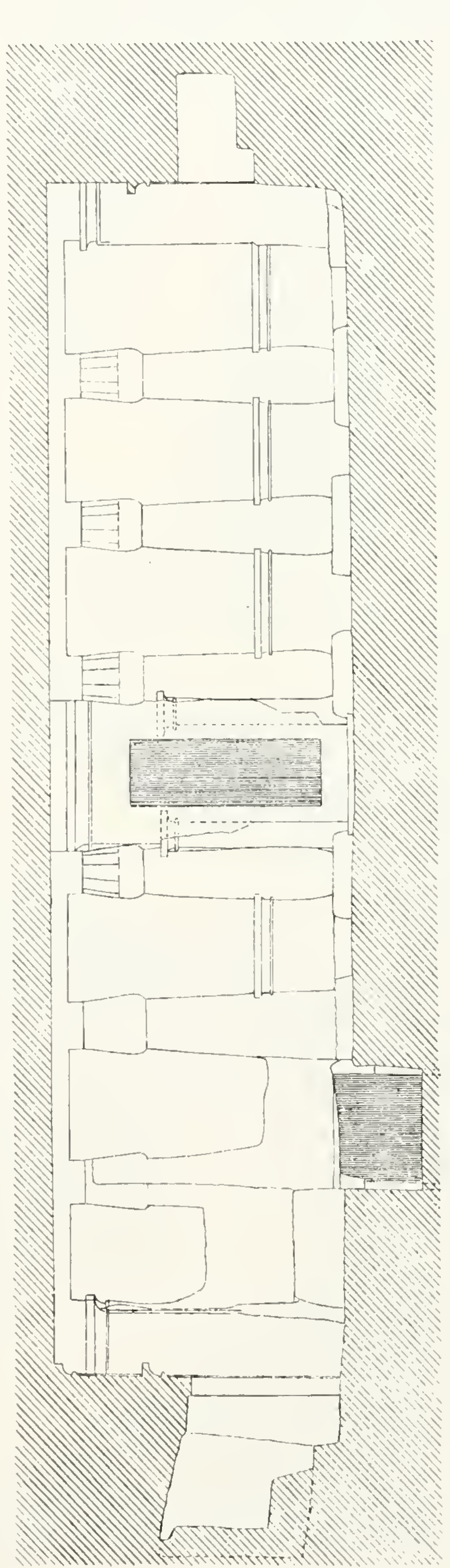
WEST WALL (continued).


APPROACH—PLAN.
APPROACH—SECTION.
PLAN.
Scale $\frac{1}{192}$
Scale $\frac{1}{192}$
M. N.
Scale
INCHES
DECIM
FEET
METRES
G
H
D
A
B
C

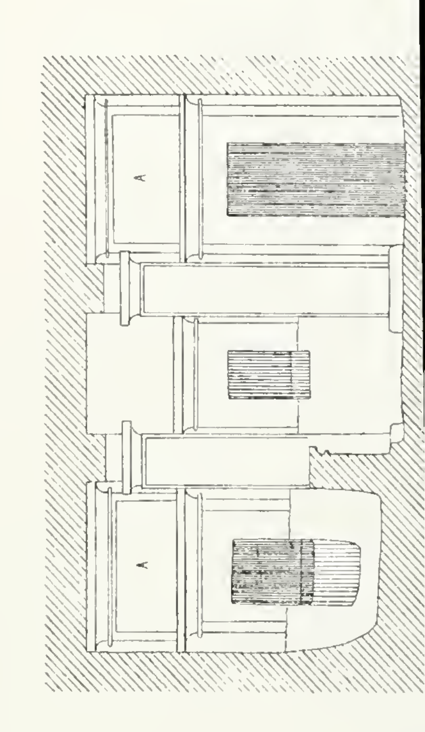


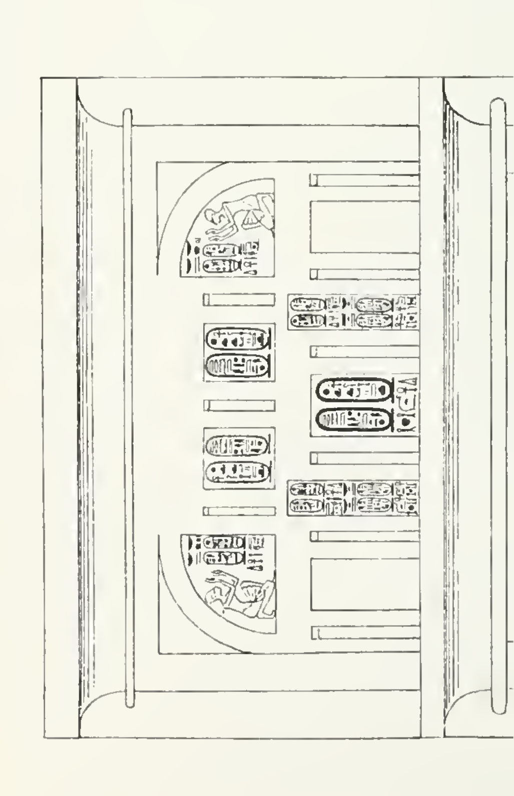


SECTION ON E.F.



SECTION ON A.B.C.D.





OPEN STAIRS

10

20

30

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40

35

ENTRANCE

STAIRWAY—PLAN.

10

20

SECTION ON A.B.

30

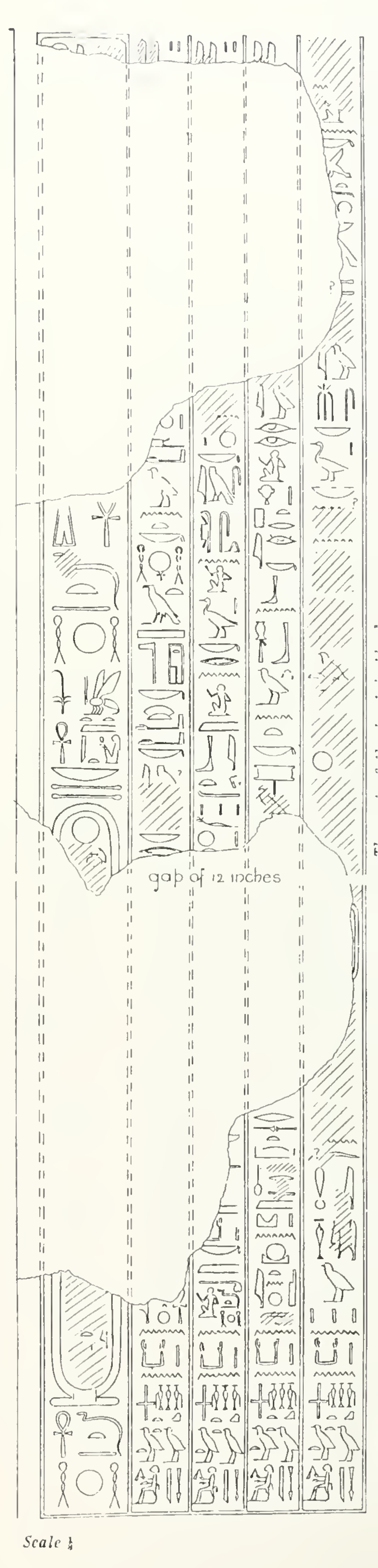
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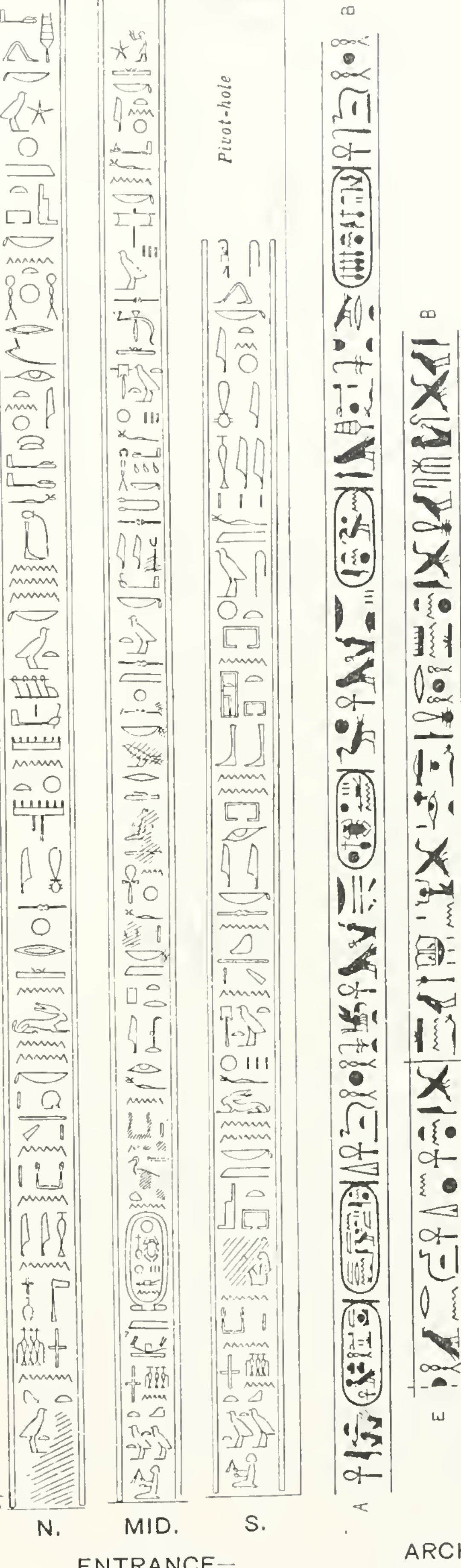
50

SECTION ON C D

Scale $\frac{1}{96}$



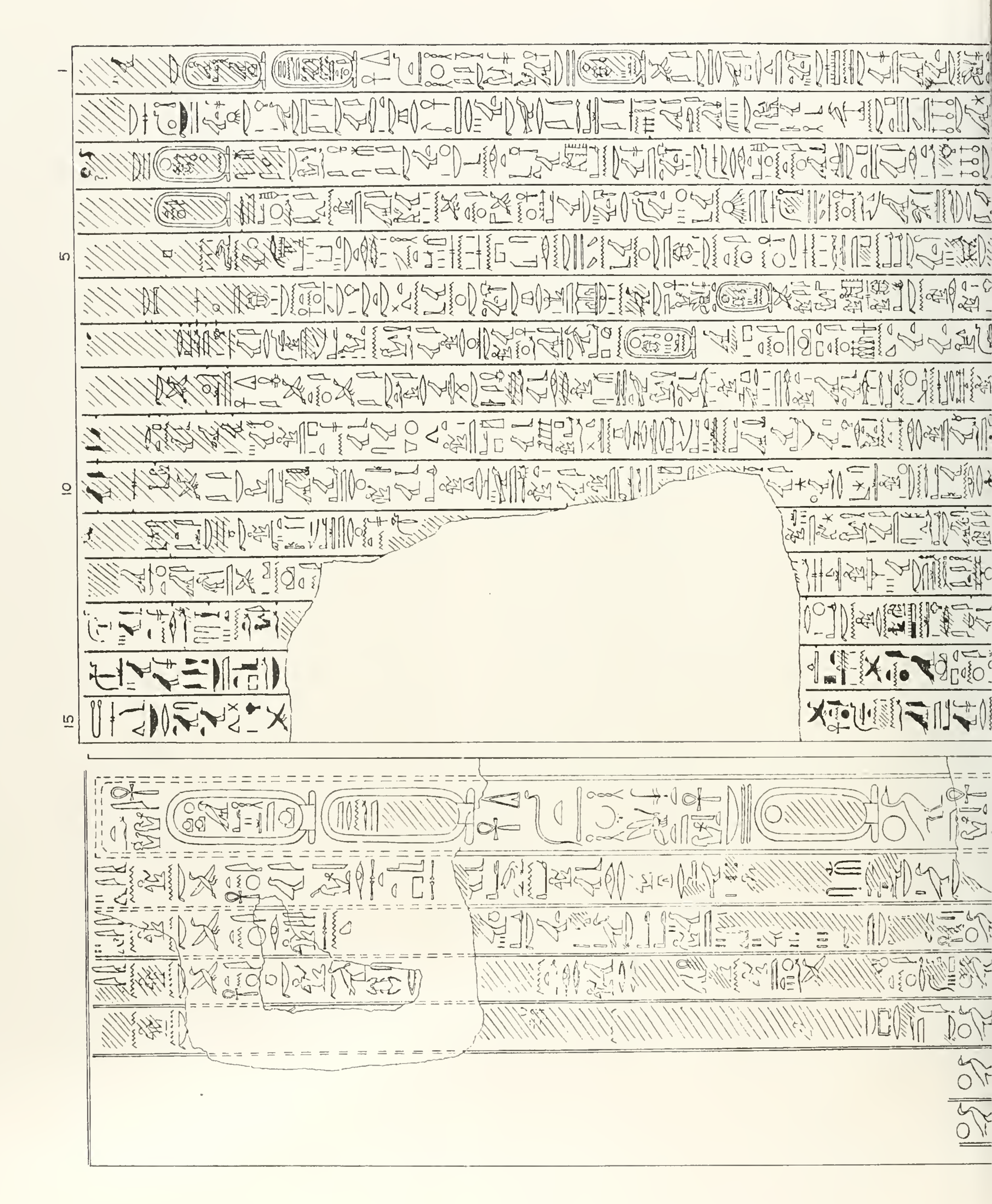
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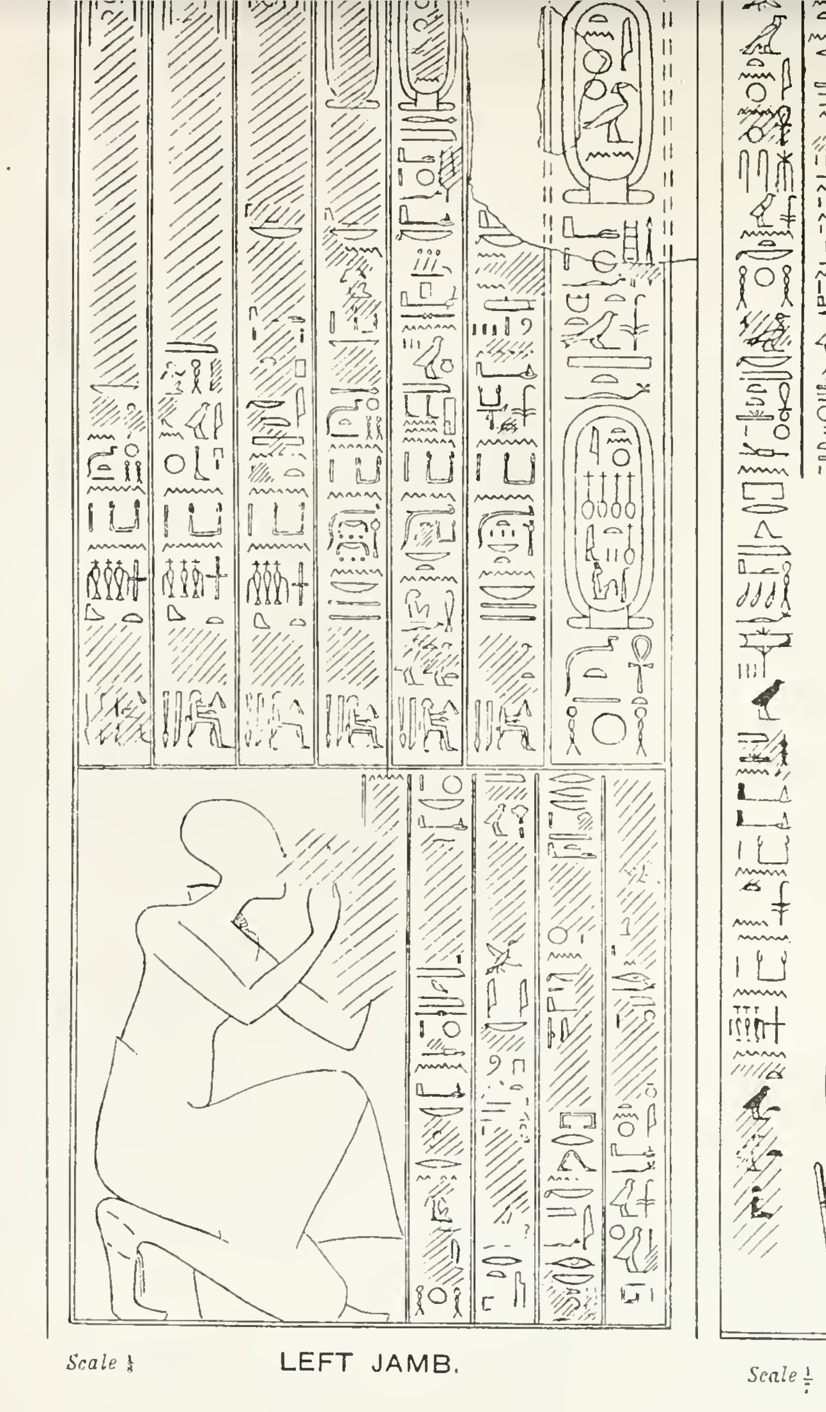


ENTRANCE—CEILING INSCRIPTIONS.

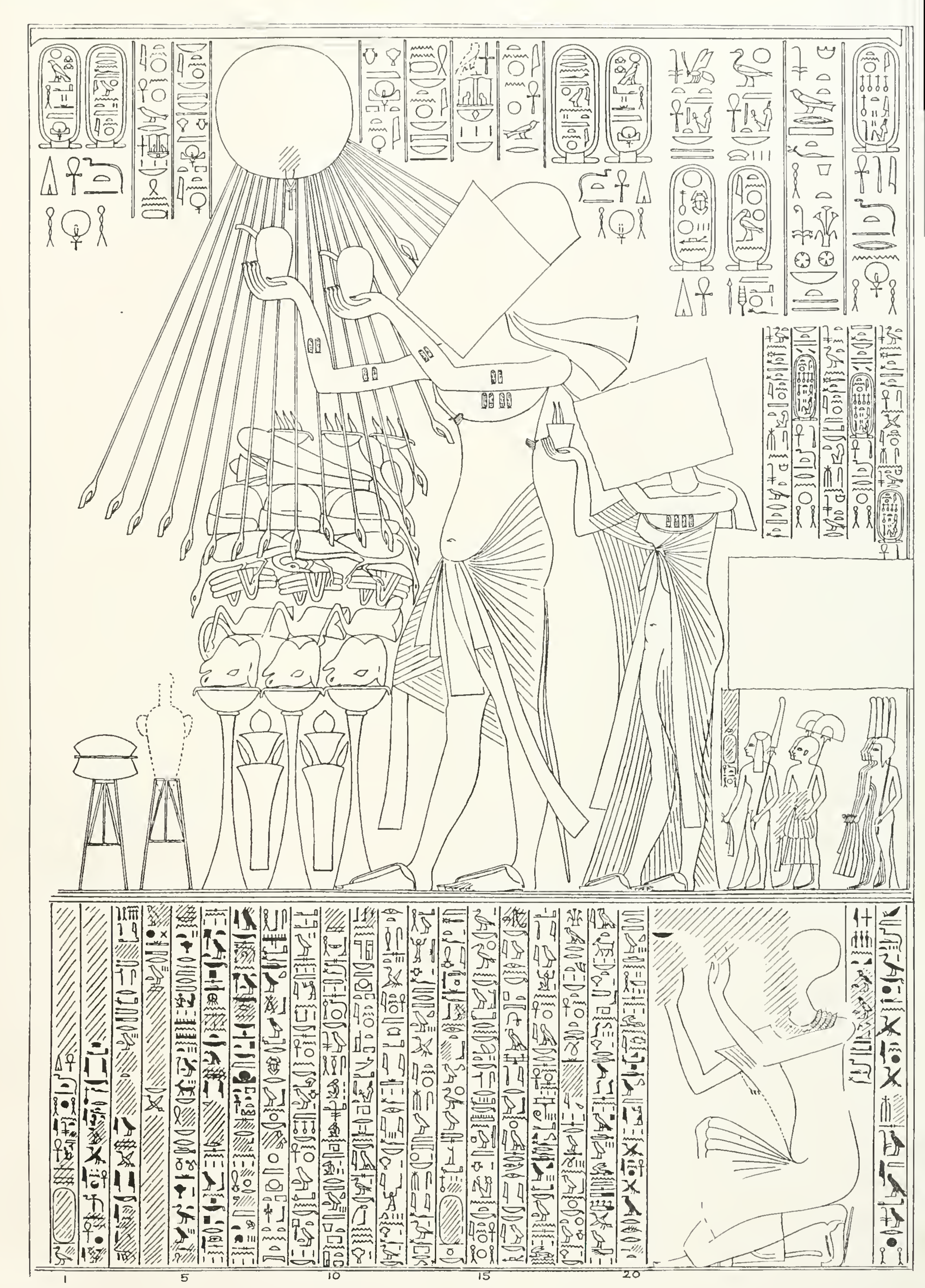
ARCHITRAVE INSCRIPTIONS.

Scale $\frac{1}{16}$




LEFT JAMB.


SOUTH THICKNESS.



Scale $\frac{1}{10}$



Scale $\frac{1}{8}$

THE KING RECEIVES TUTU AT

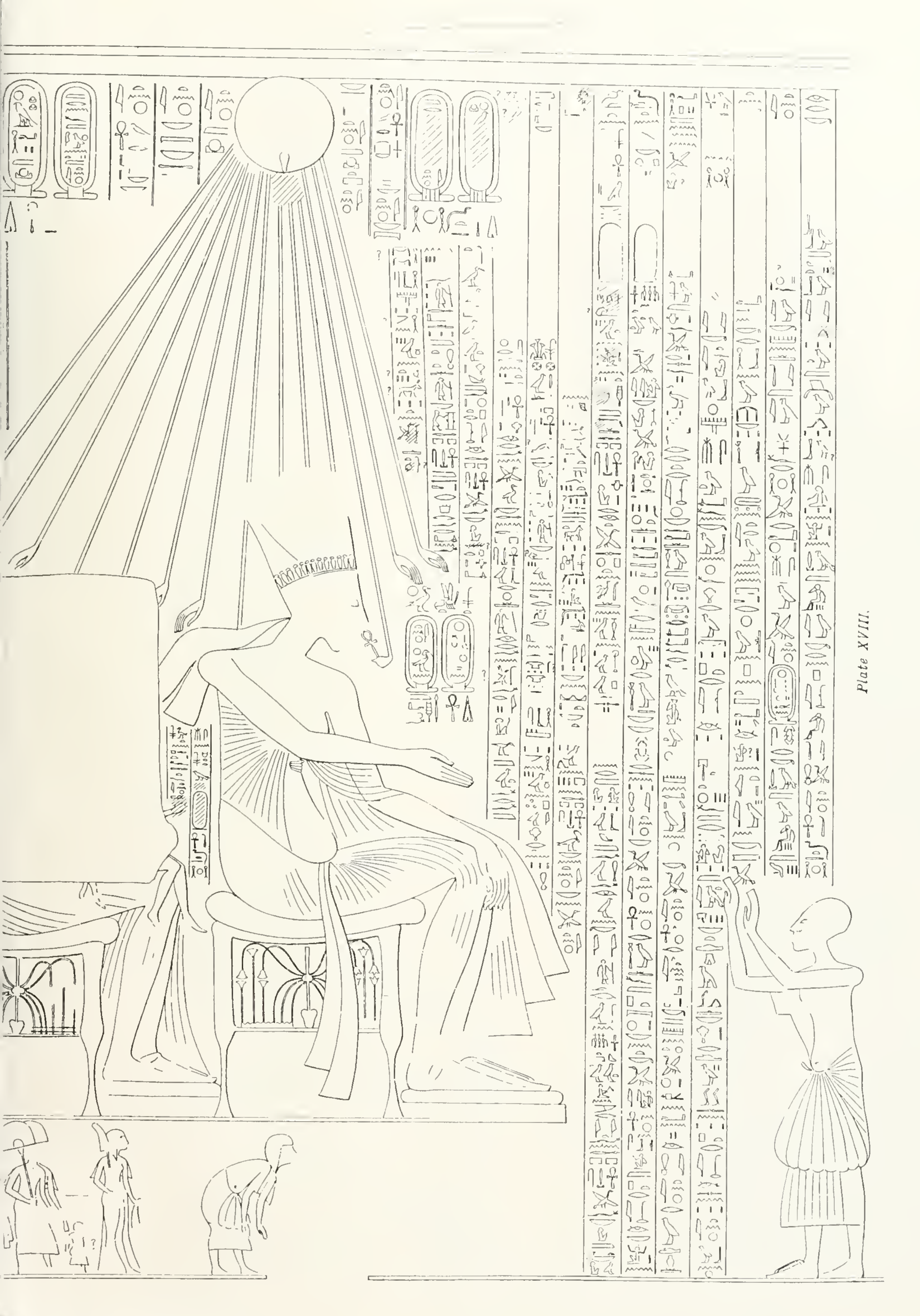
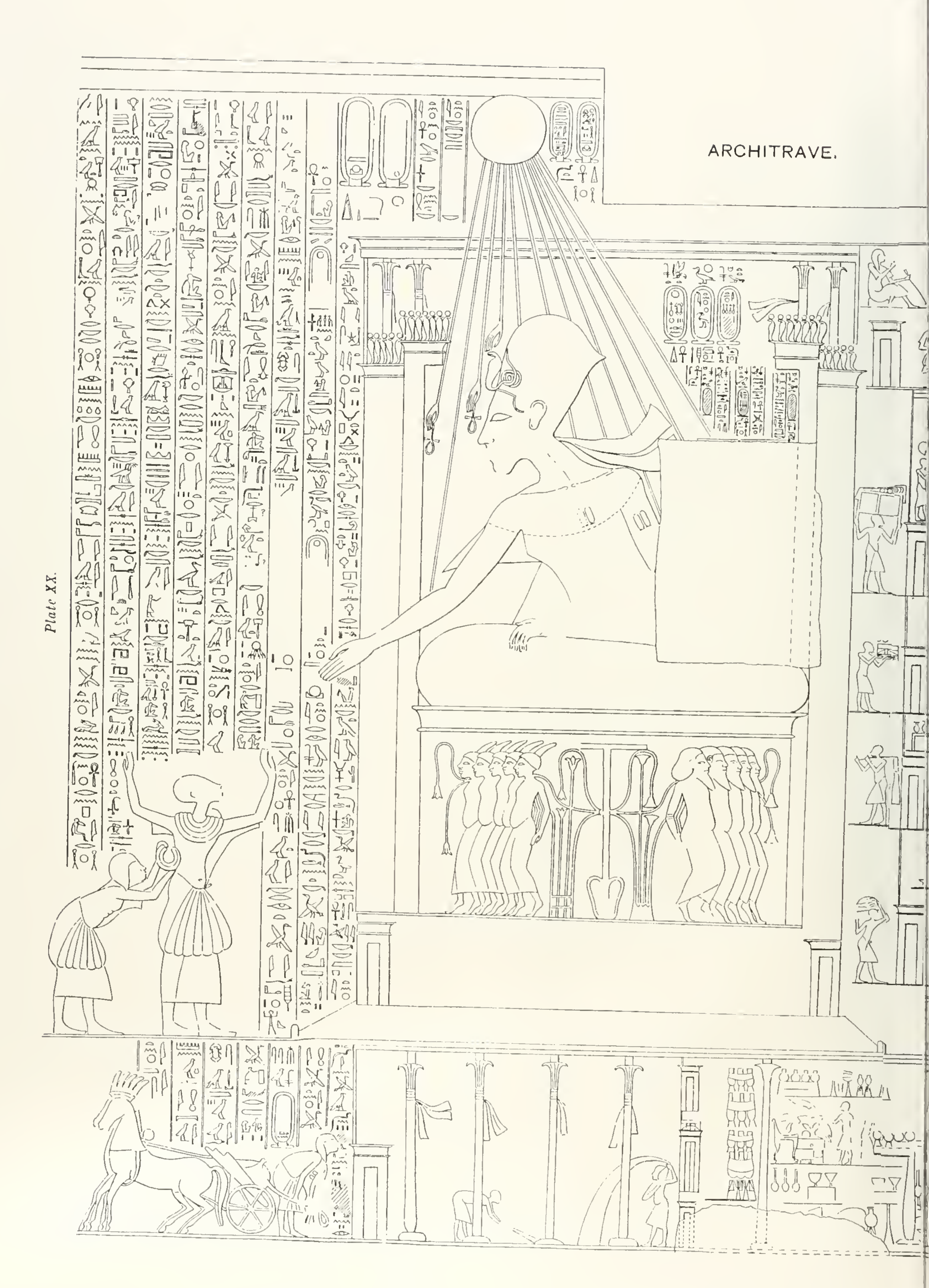


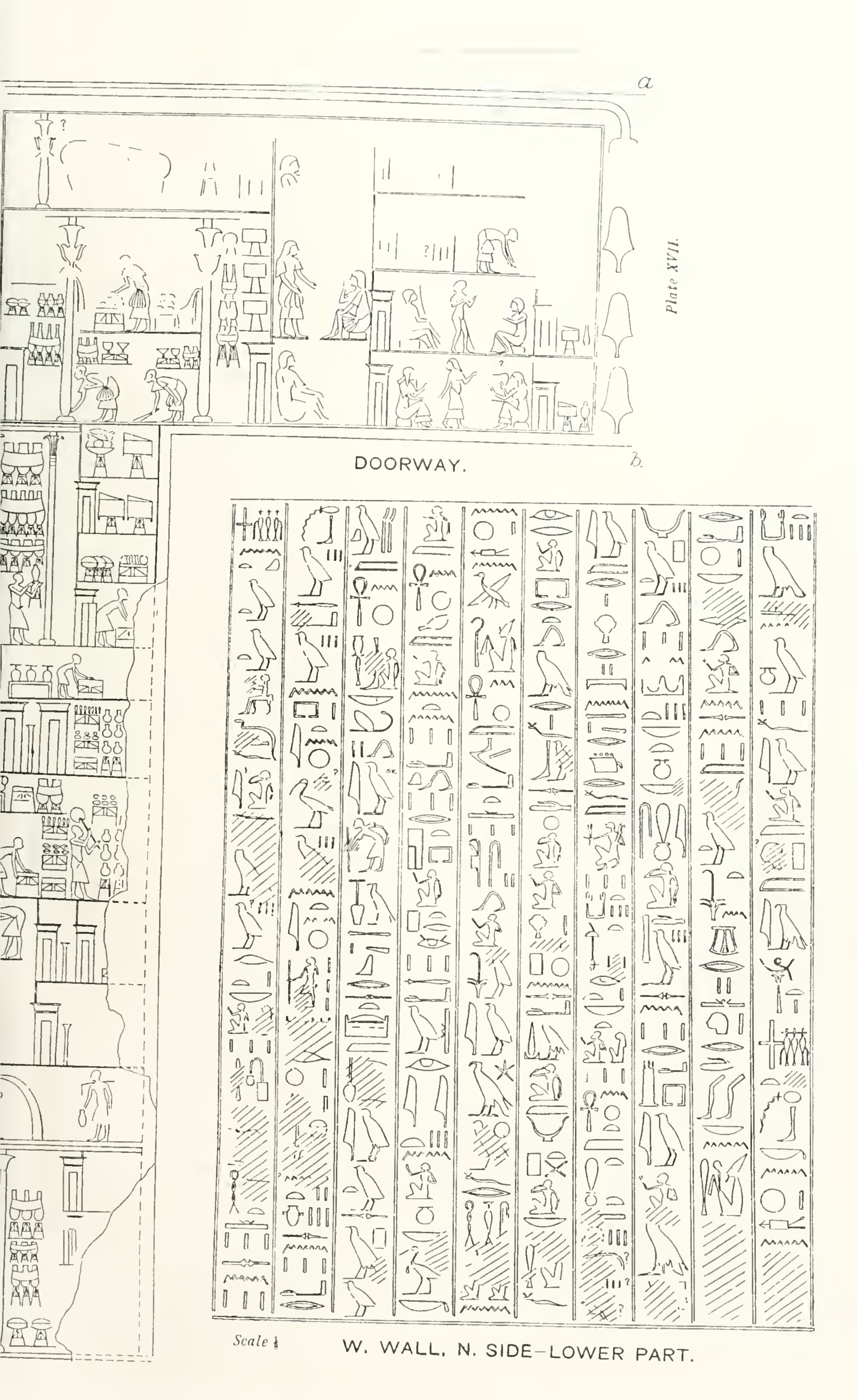
Plate XVIII.

THE DOOR OF THE PALACE.



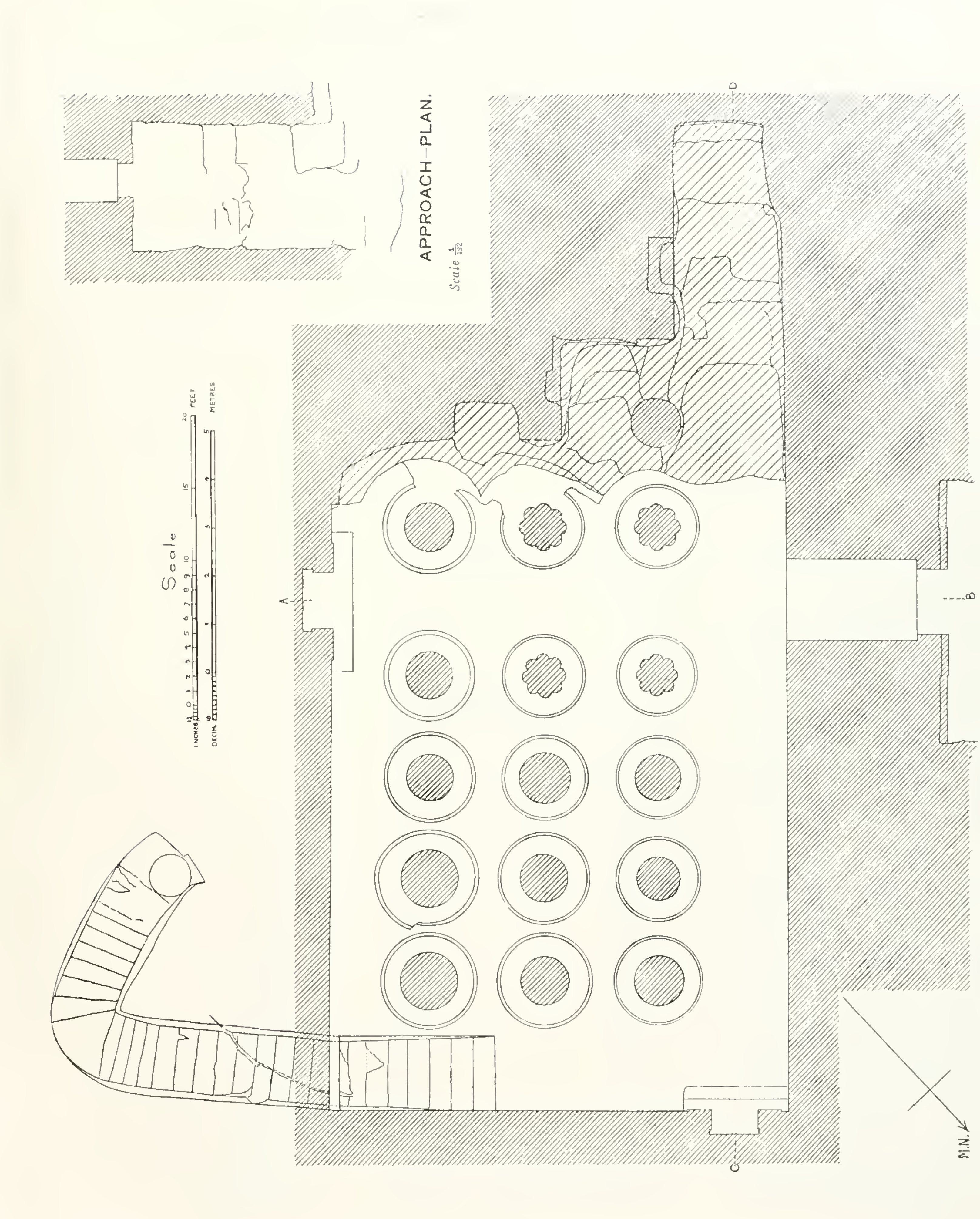
Scale $\frac{1}{9}$

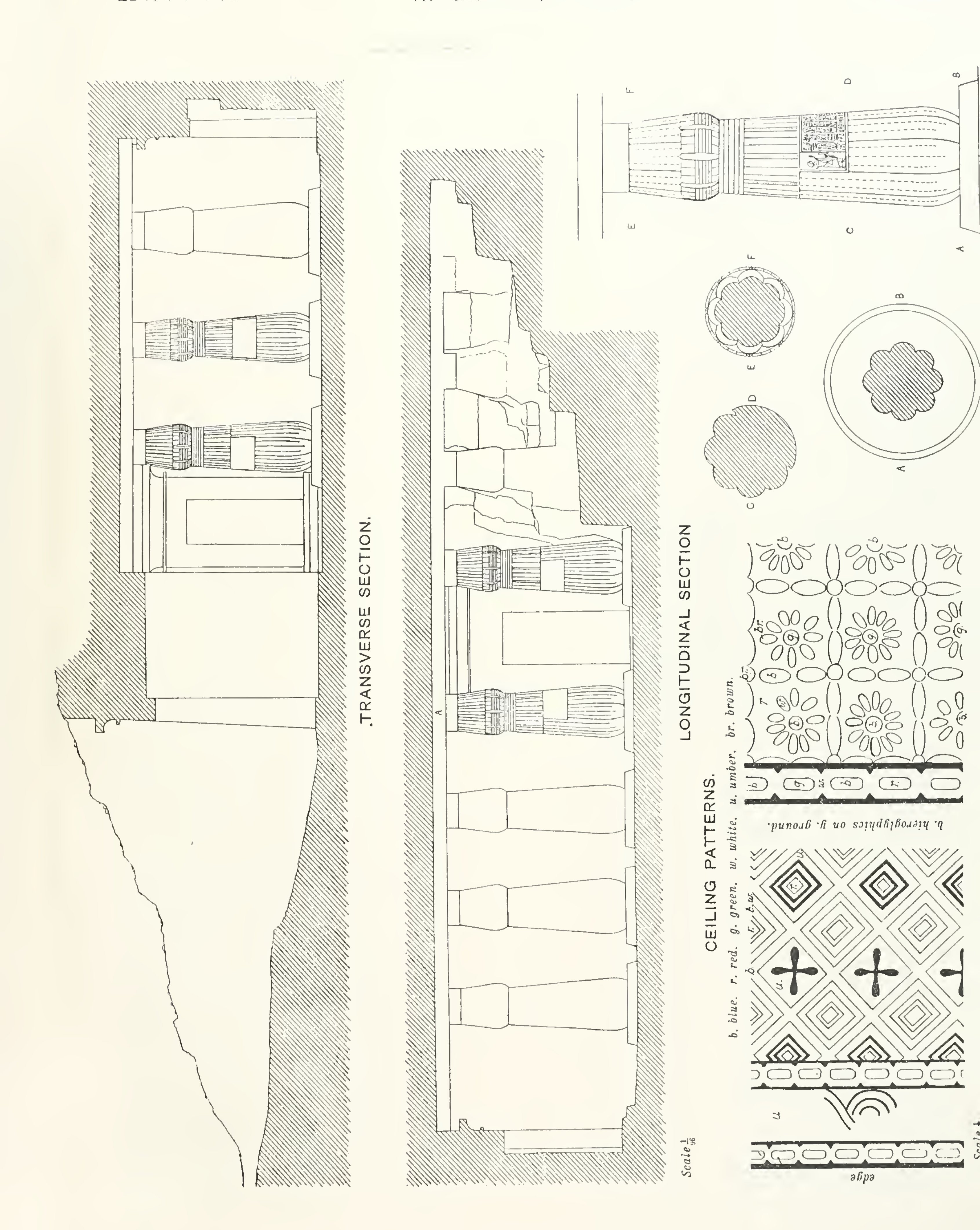
TUTU RECEIVING PROMO

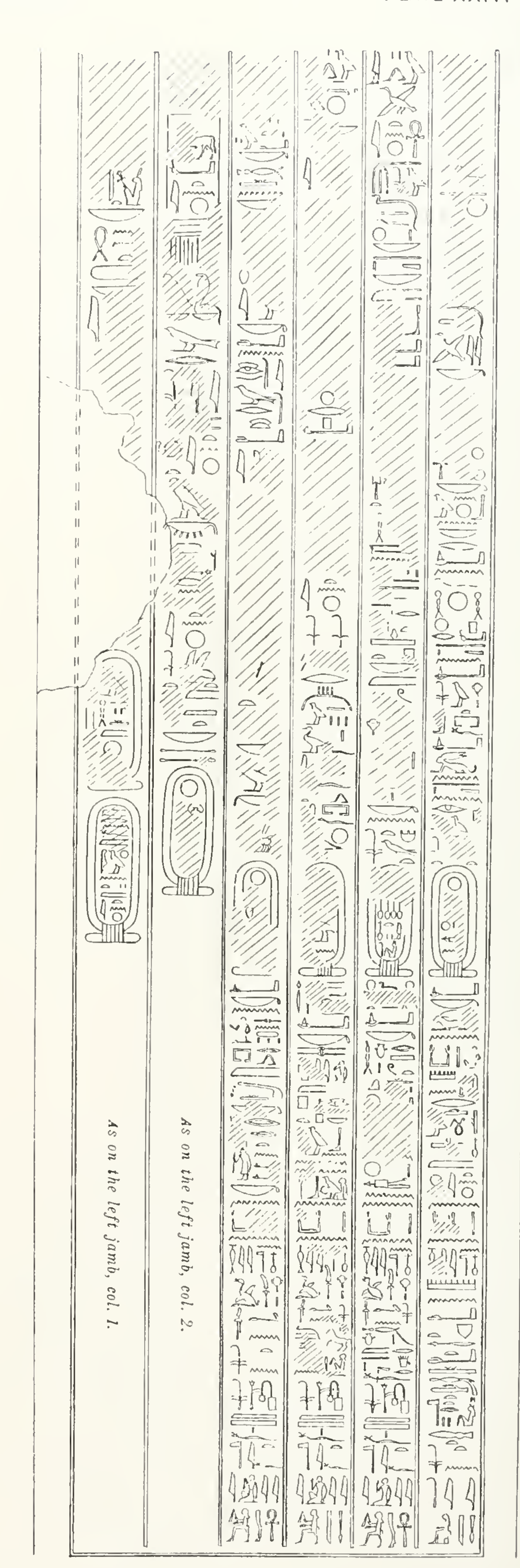


W. WALL, N. SIDE—LOWER PART.

ON FROM THE KING.


APPROACH-PLAN.
Scale 1/192
Scale
FEET
METRES
A
B
C
D
M.N.


TRANSVERSE SECTION.
LONGITUDINAL SECTION
CEILING PATTERNS.
b. blue. r. red. g. green. w. white. u. umber. br. brown.
b. hieroglyphics on y. ground.
edge
Scale 1/96
A
B
C
D
E
F

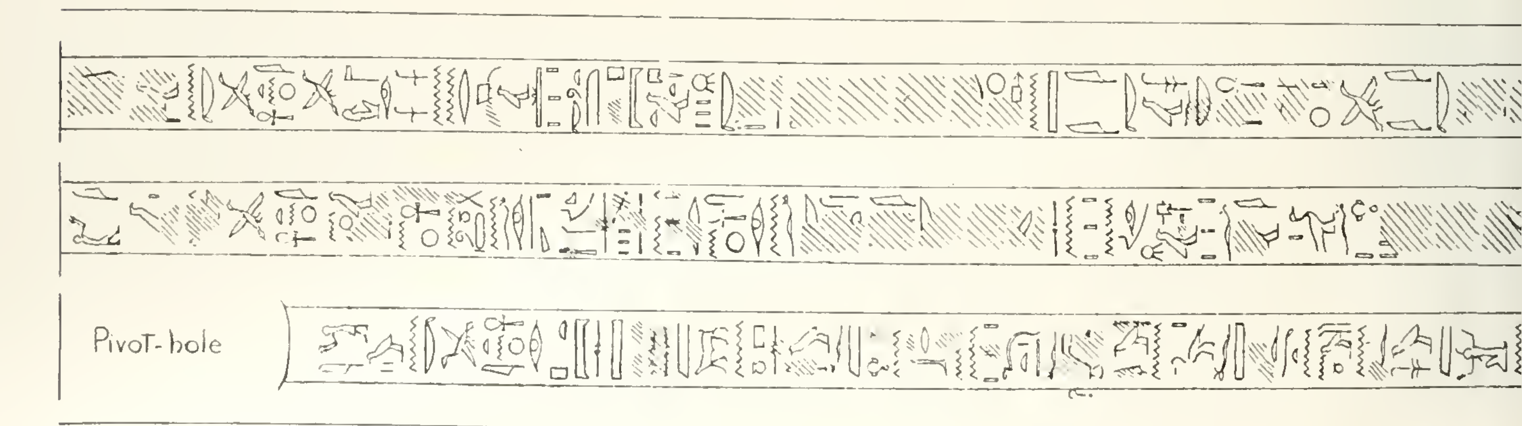


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1 5 10

THE PRAY

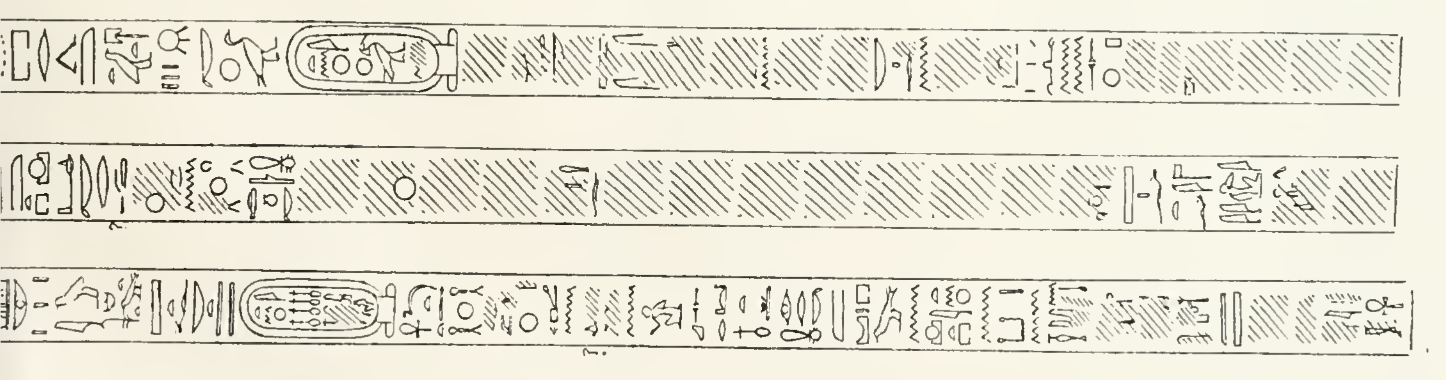


Scale $\frac{1}{7}$

ENTRANCE—CEILIN

For the figures see photographic plate.

OF AY.



INSCRIPTIONS.

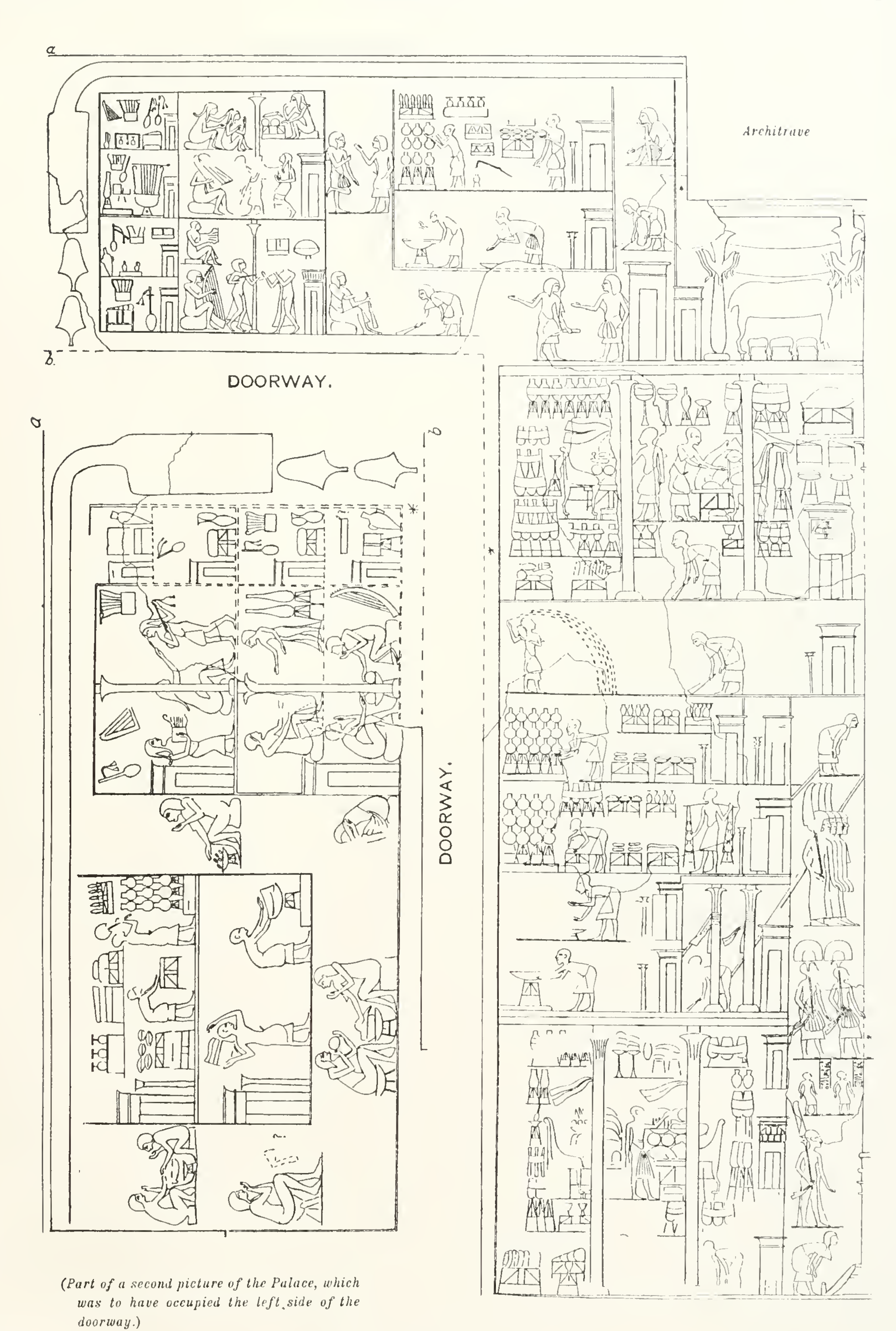
Scale $\frac{1}{16}$

THE ROYAL FAMILY OFFERING TO ATEN.



Scale $\frac{1}{3}$

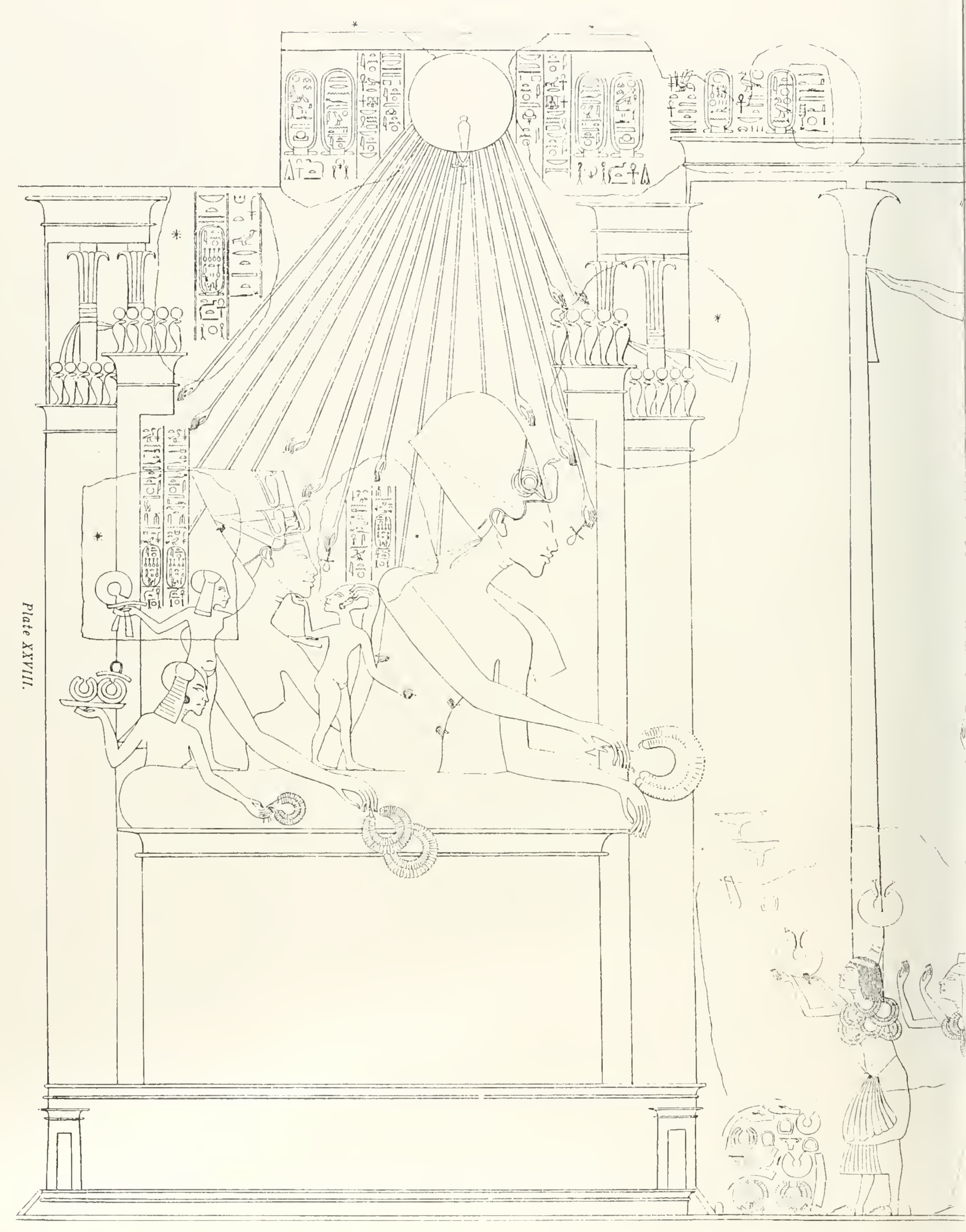
ROYAL HEADS (*see Plate XXIX.*)



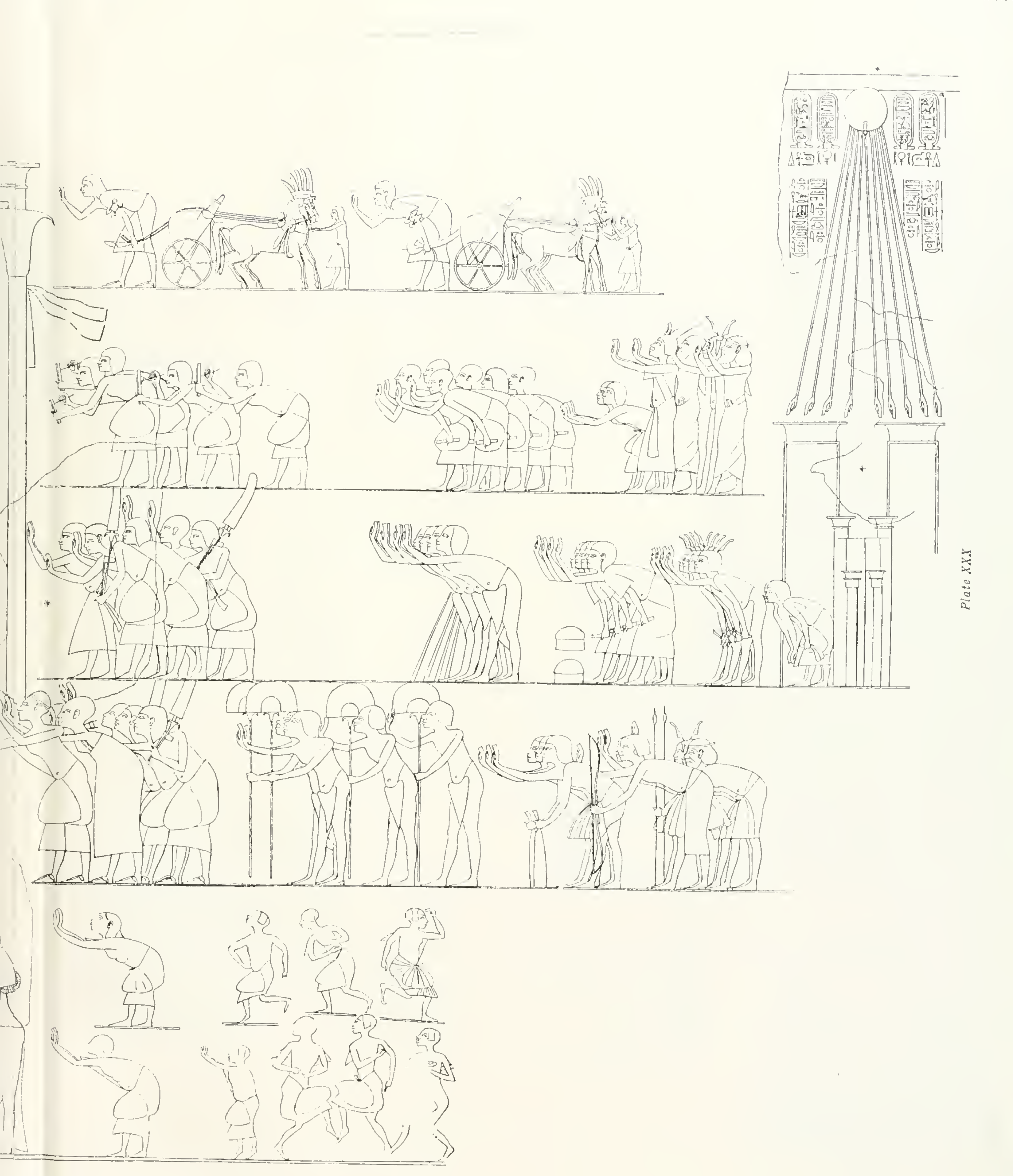
(Part of a second picture of the Palace, which was to have occupied the left side of the doorway.)

Scale 1/9

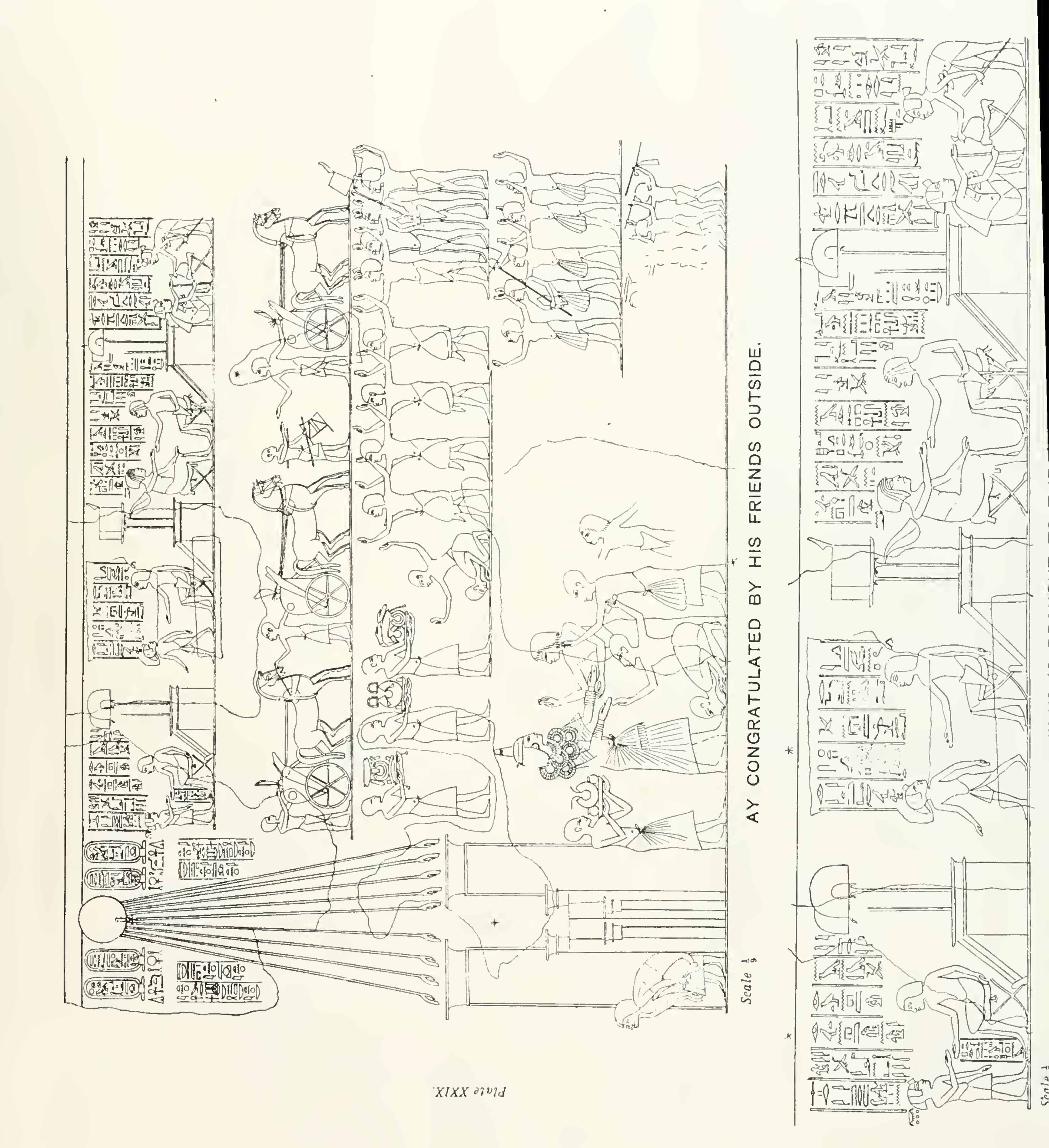
THE PALACE AND HAREM.



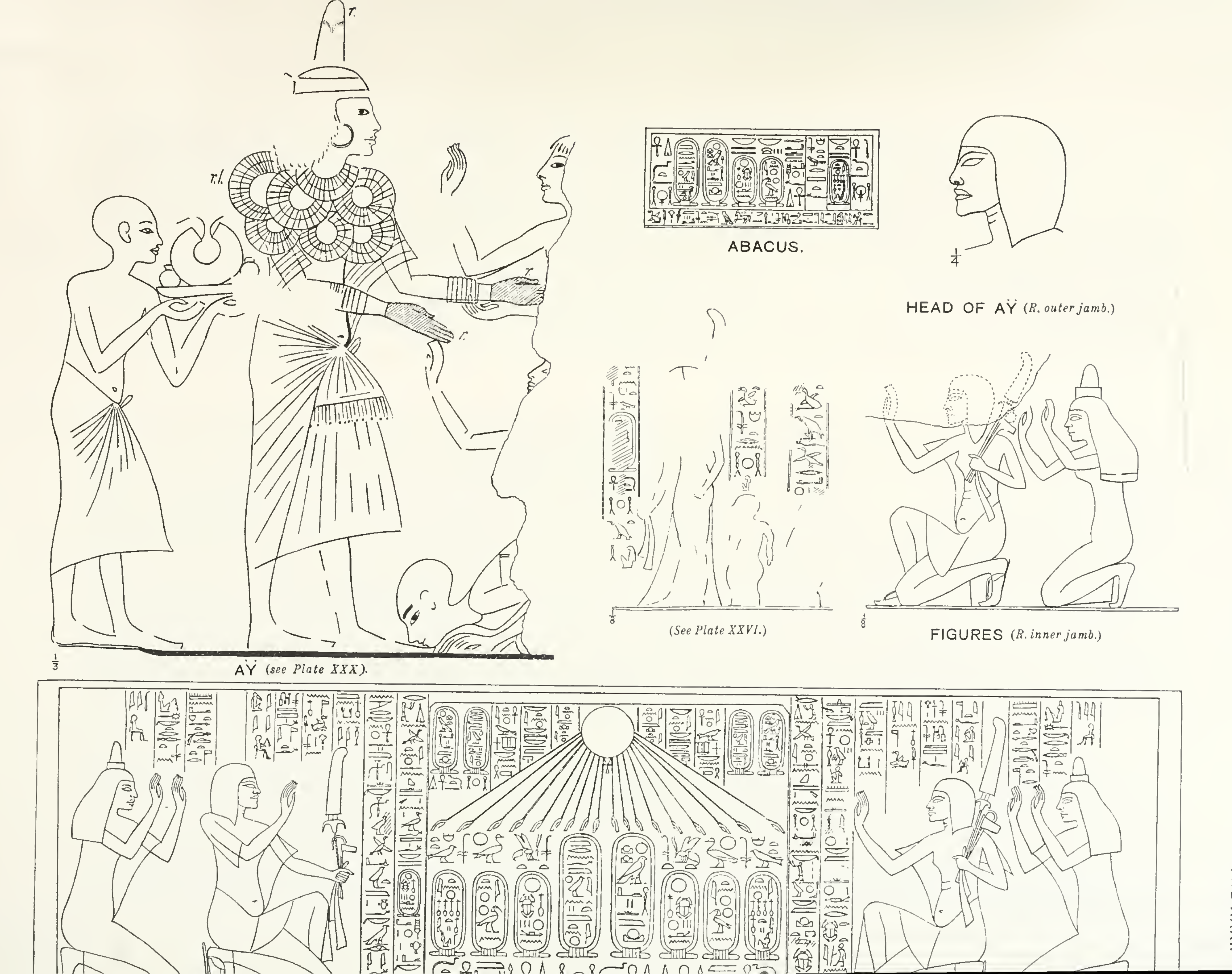
AY AND HIS WIF



HONOURED BY THE KING.



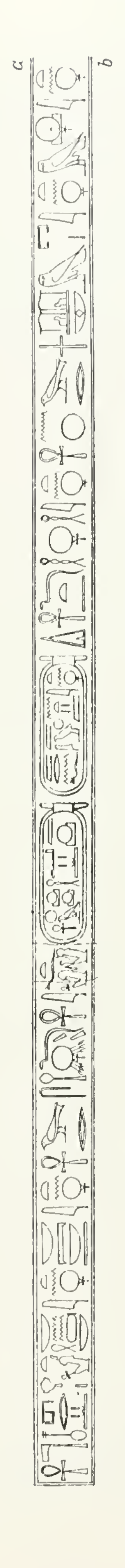
AY CONGRATULATED BY HIS FRIENDS OUTSIDE.


ABACUS.
HEAD OF AŸ (R. outer jamb.)
(See Plate XXVI.)
FIGURES (R. inner jamb.)
AŸ (see Plate XXX).

Scale ⅛

L. JAMB.

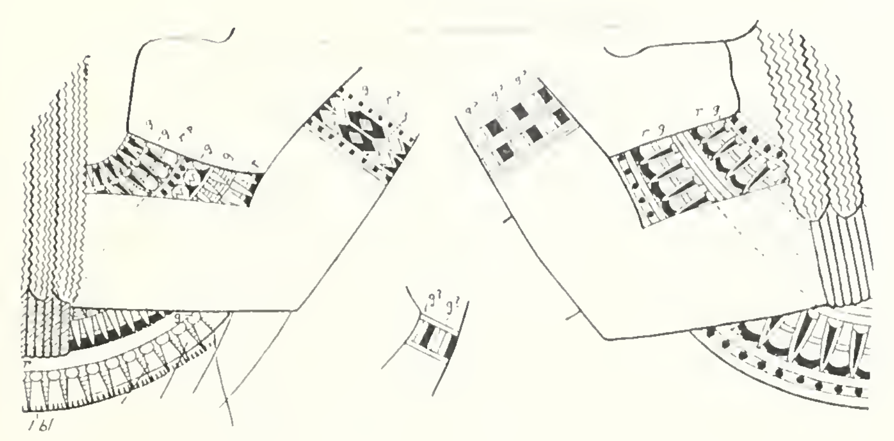
R. JAMB.



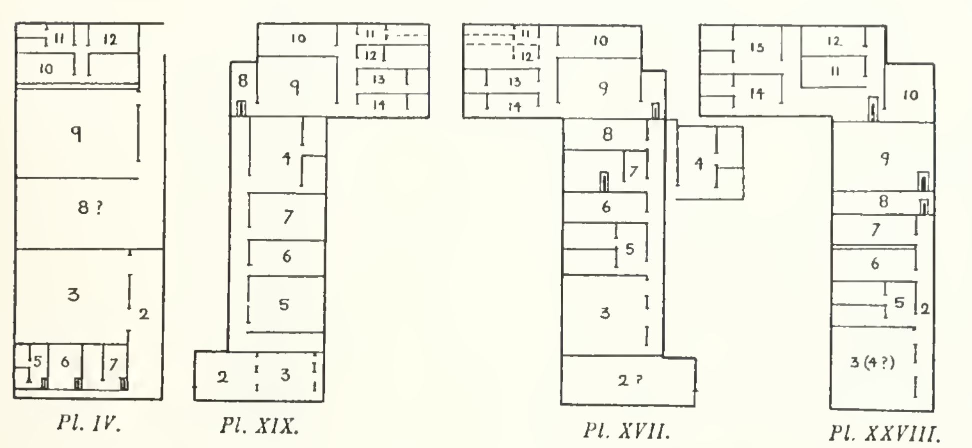
INSCRIPTION ON WEST ARCHITRAVE.

W. a b c d c′ d′ a′ b′ E e f c d b a MID.

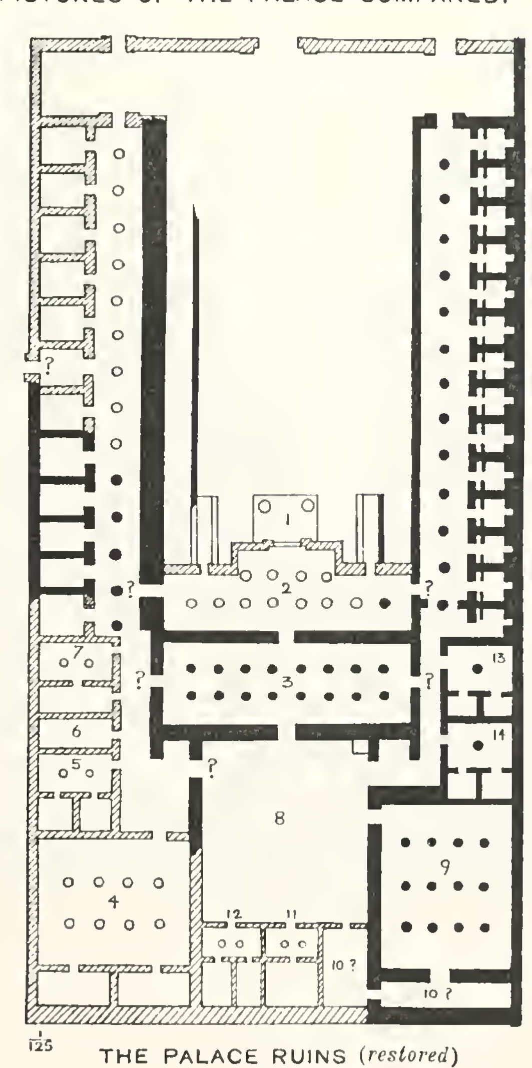
a b c d c′ d′ a′ b′ e f c d b a



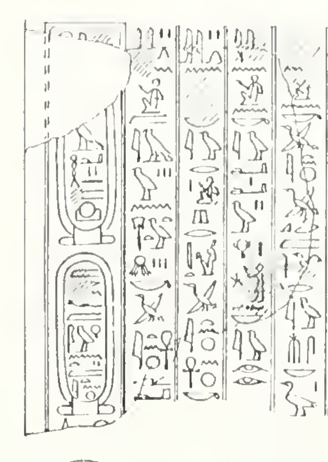
JEWELLERY OF TYI (*See Plates I., XXXIX.*)

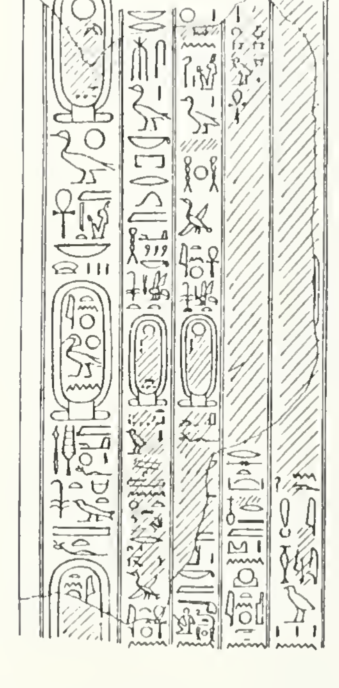


PICTURES OF THE PALACE COMPARED.



THE PALACE RUINS (*restored*)





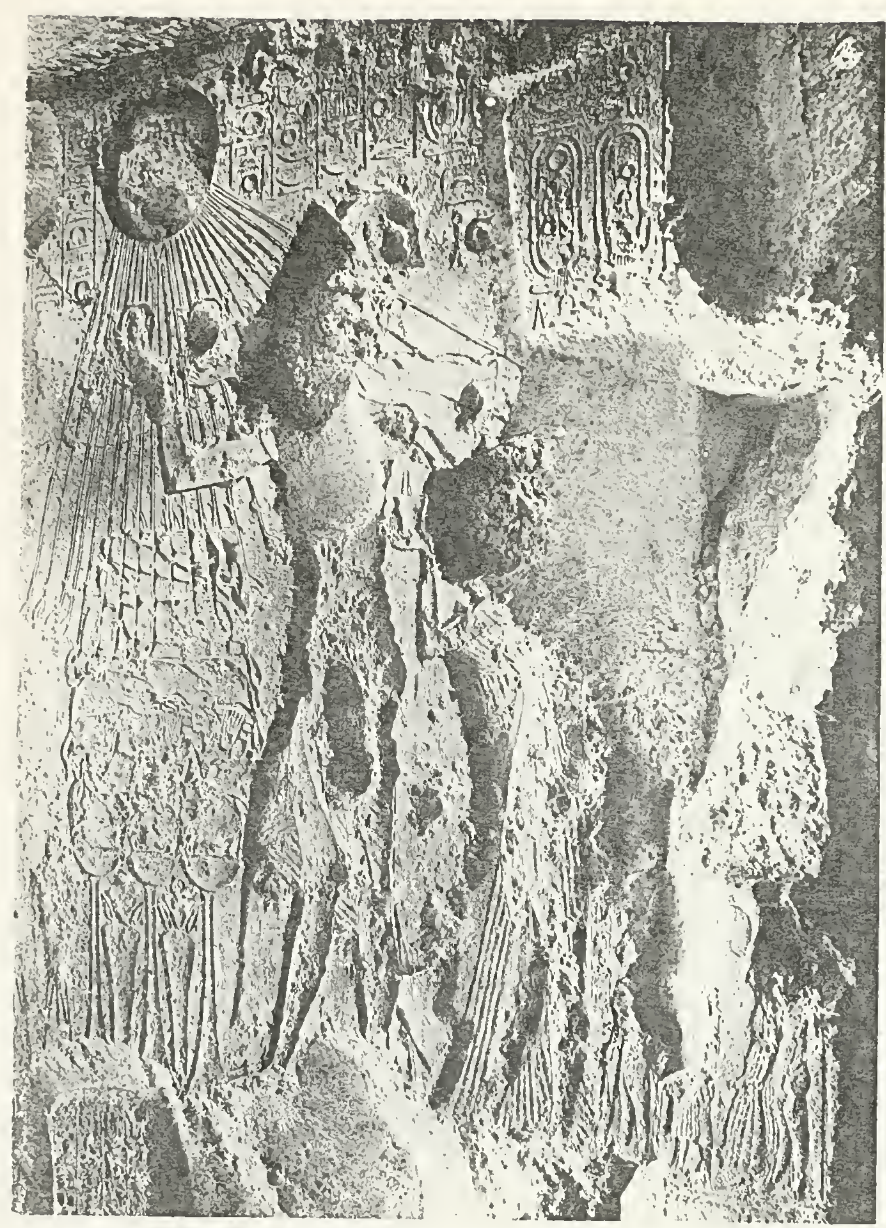


PLATES XIII, XV (*from Mariette*).

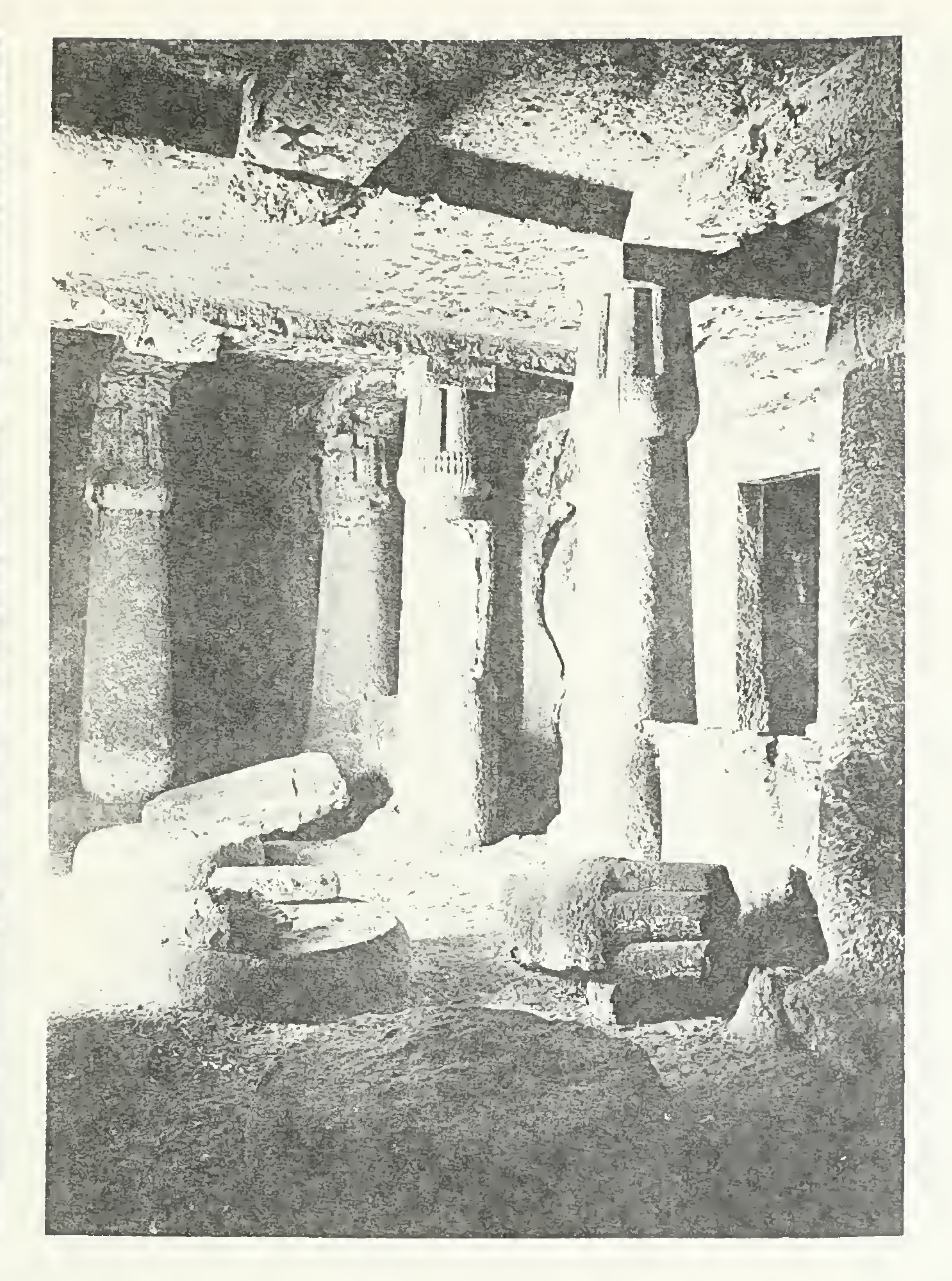
AY. ABACUS.

Col. 1 Col. 2 Col. 3 Col 4 Col. 5

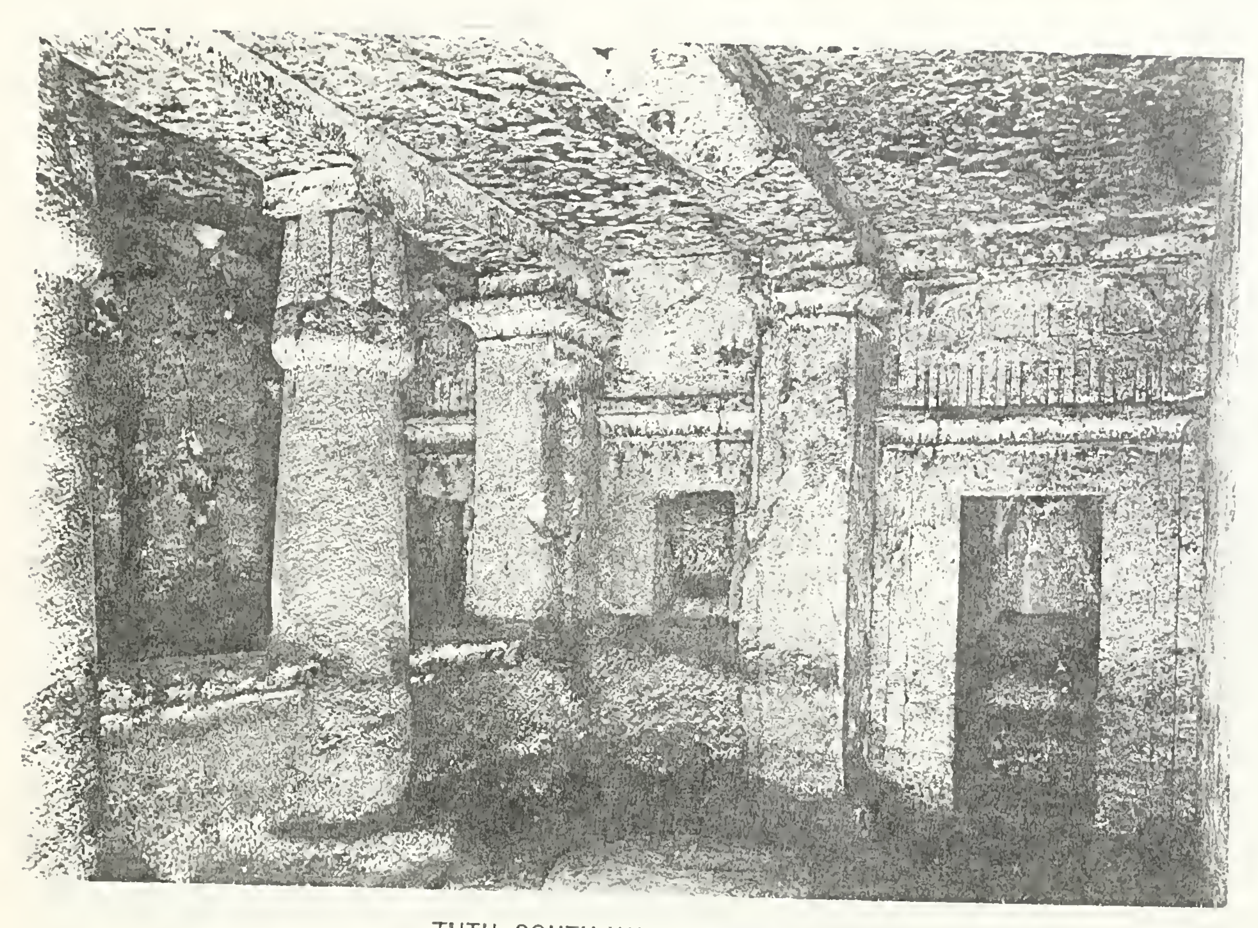
PLATE XXXII
VARIANTS
Lepsius. Hay



NORTH THICKNESS.



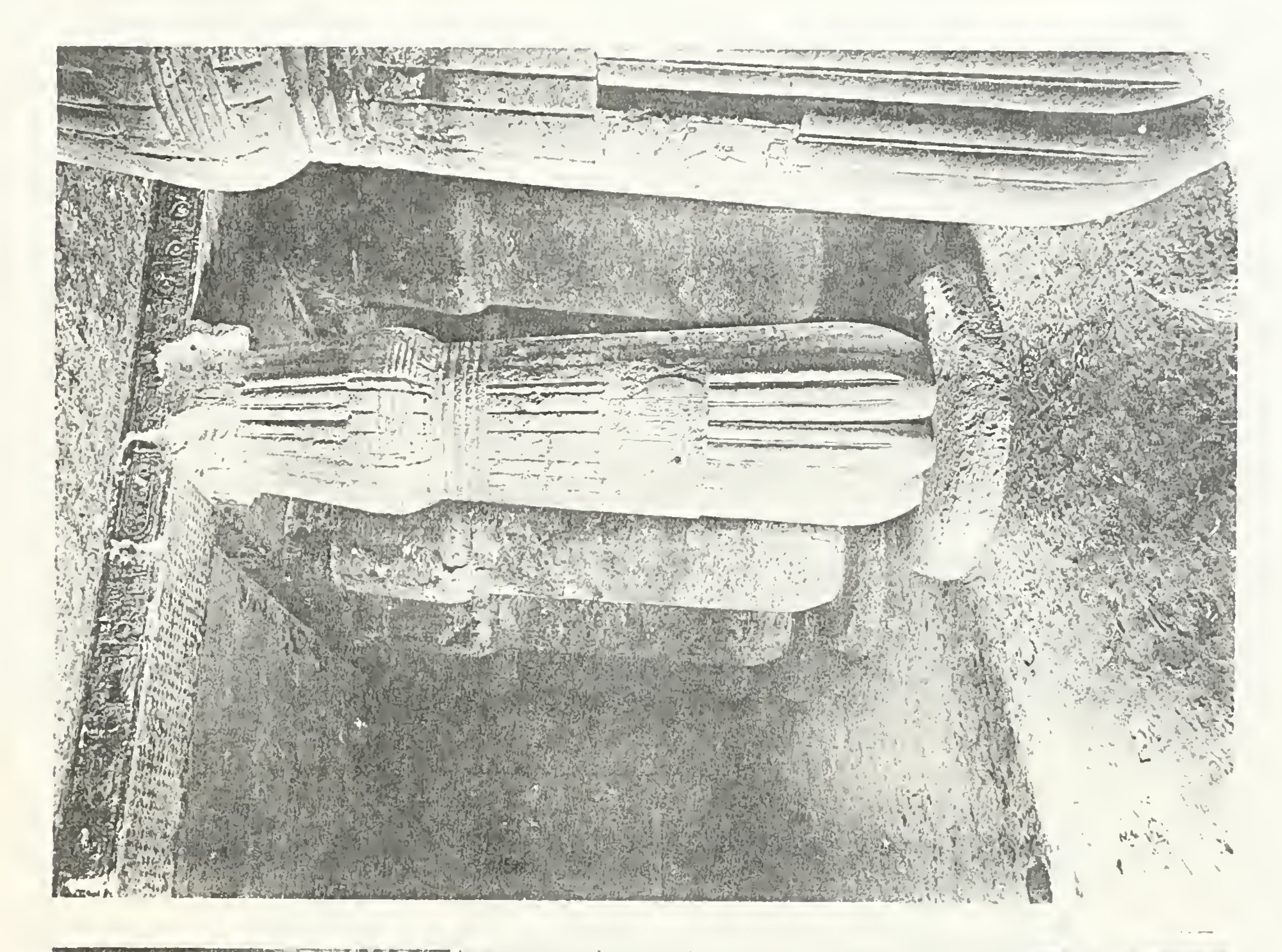
THE HALL.



TUTU. SOUTH WALL OF HALL.



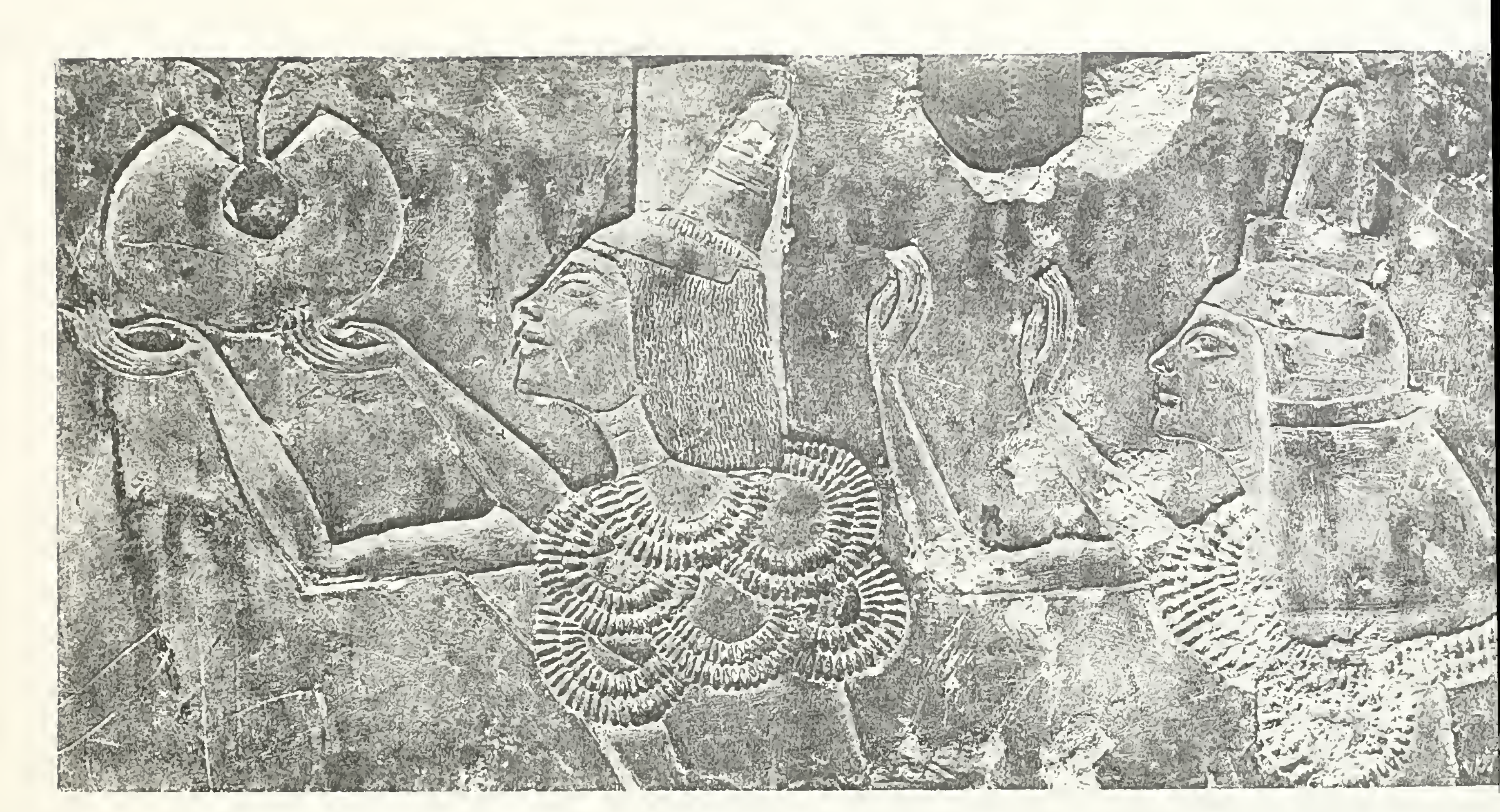
AŸ. THE HAREM.



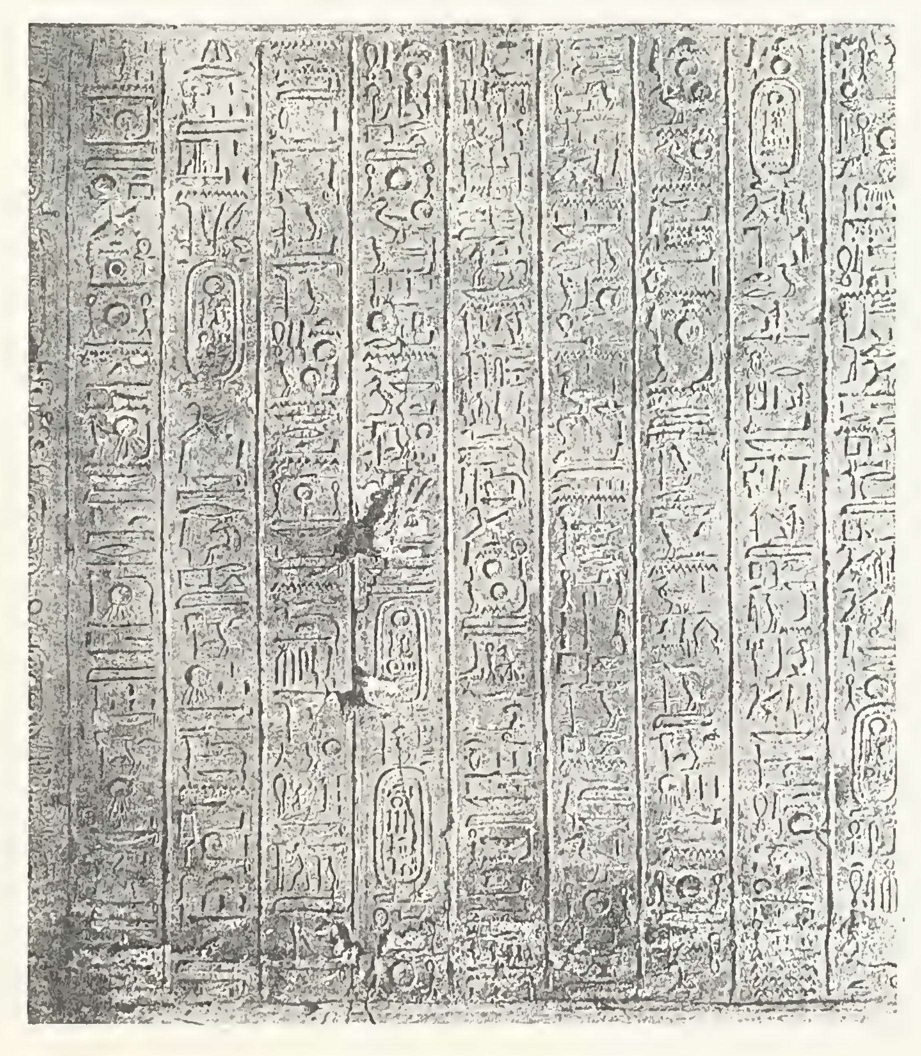
THE HALL. LOOKING EAST.



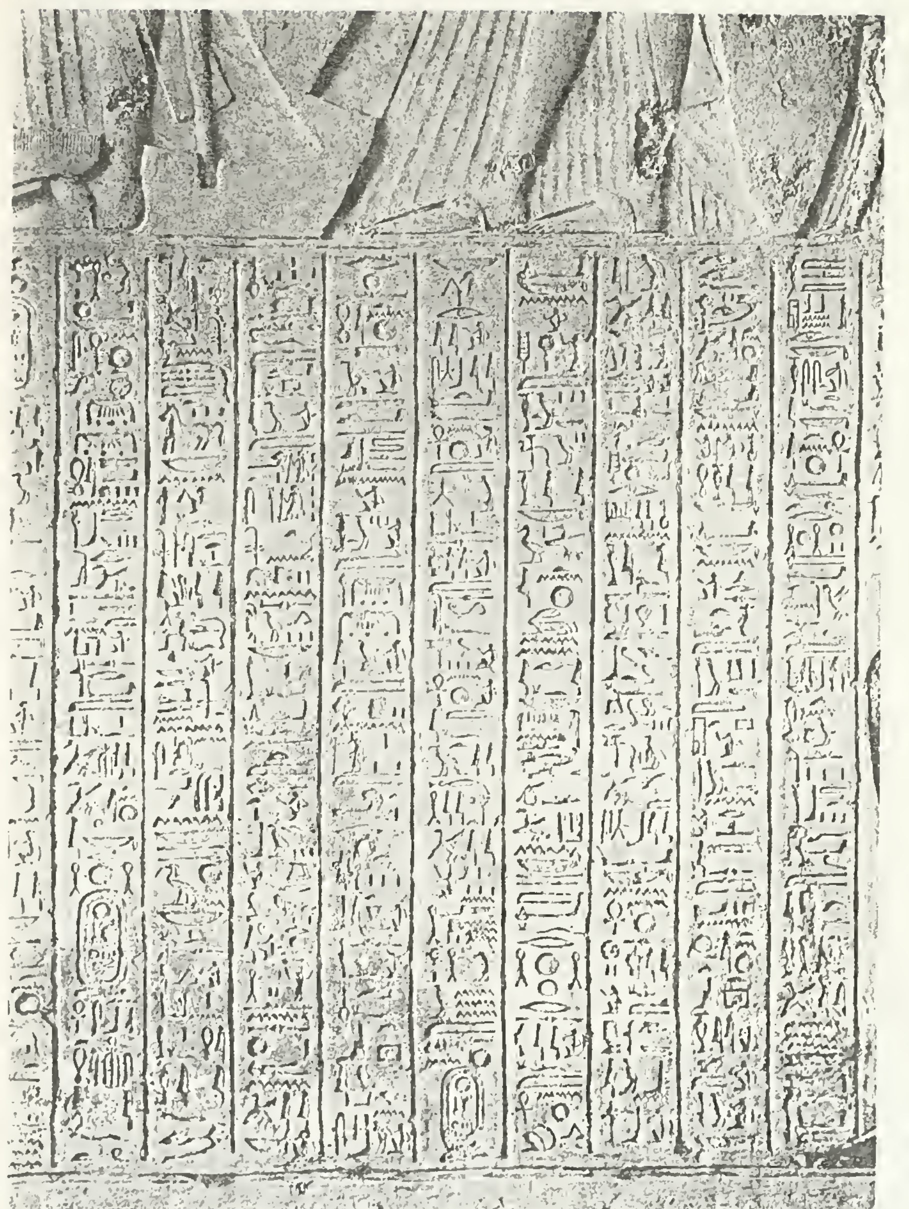
THE HALL. CENTRAL AISLE.



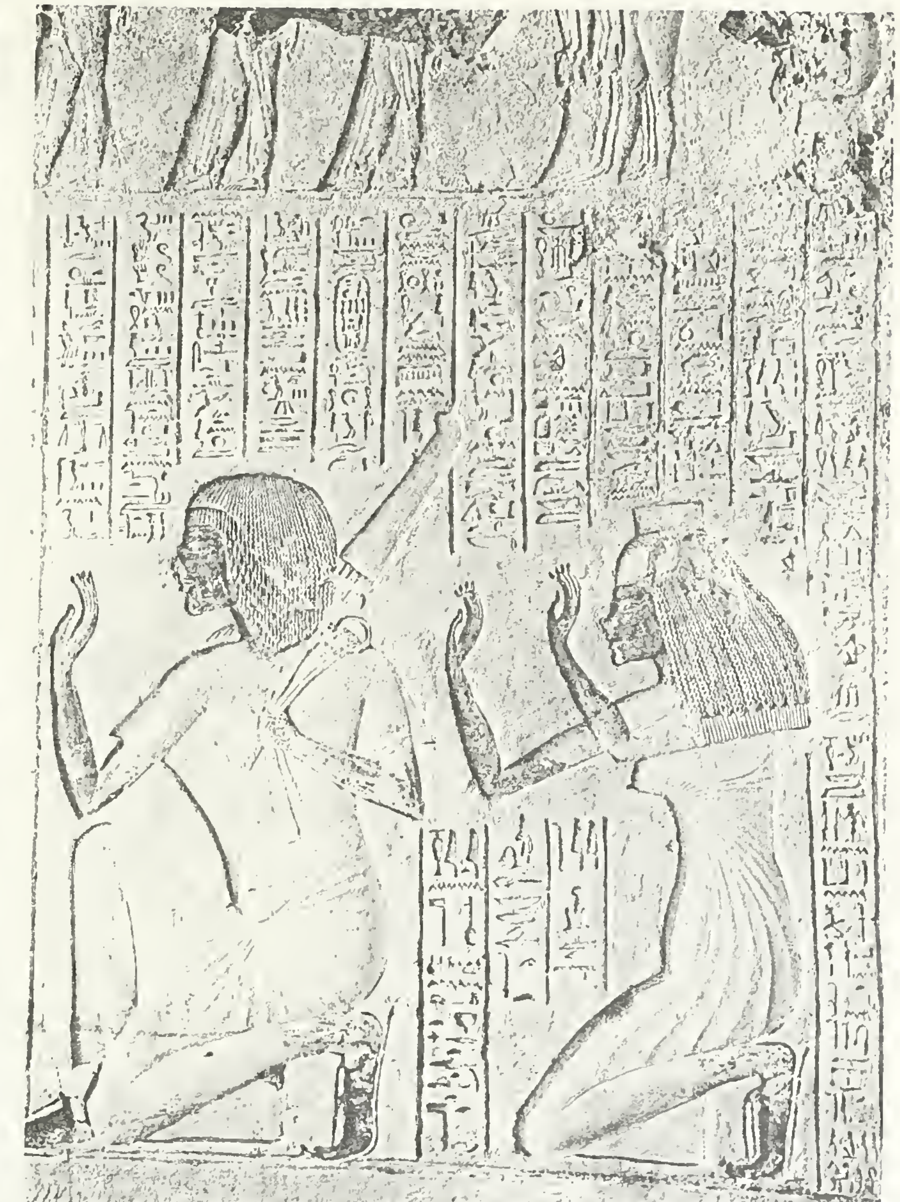
AŸ AND TYI (Cairo Museum).



EAST THICKNESS (Cols. 2-9).



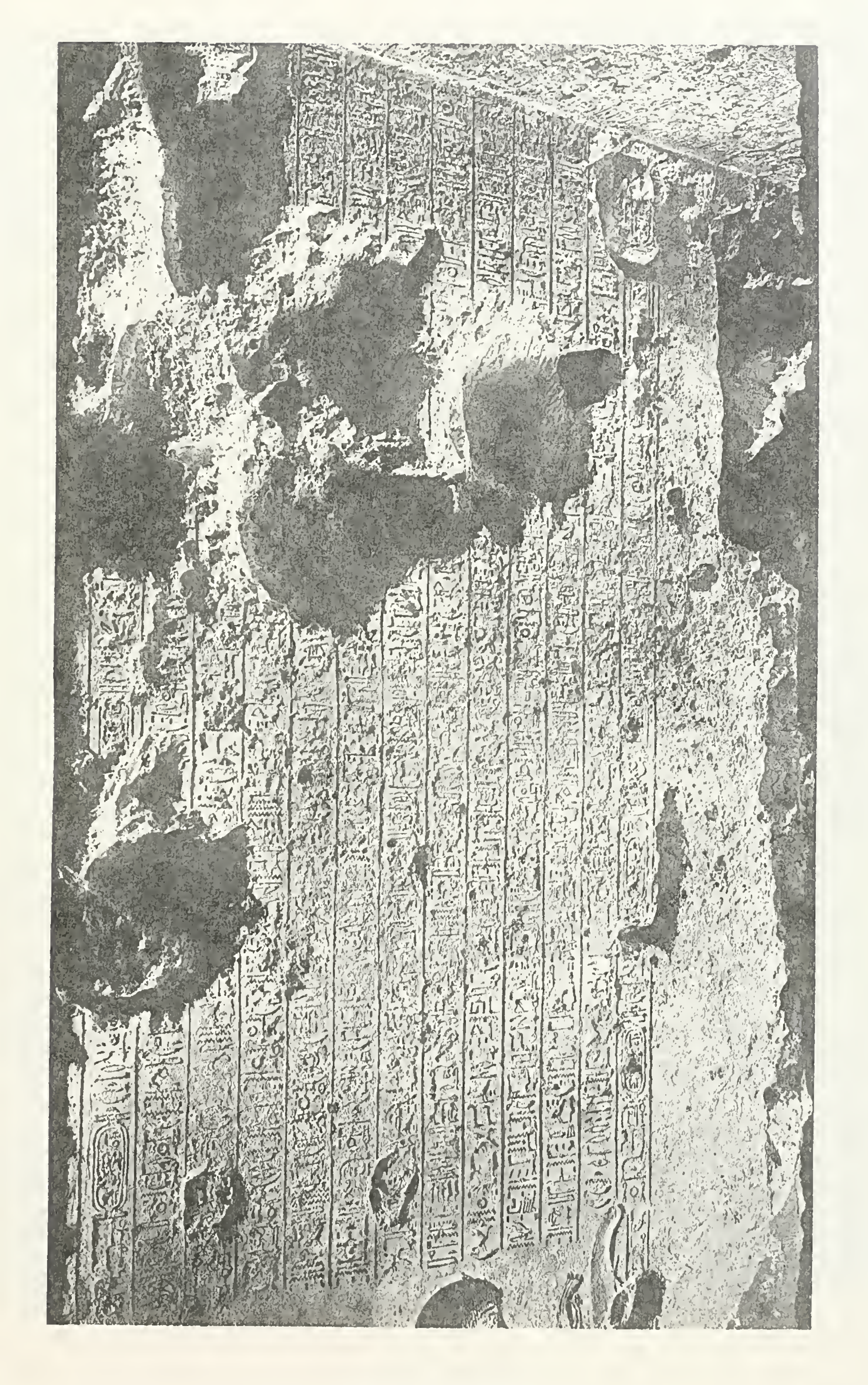
(Cols. 10-18).



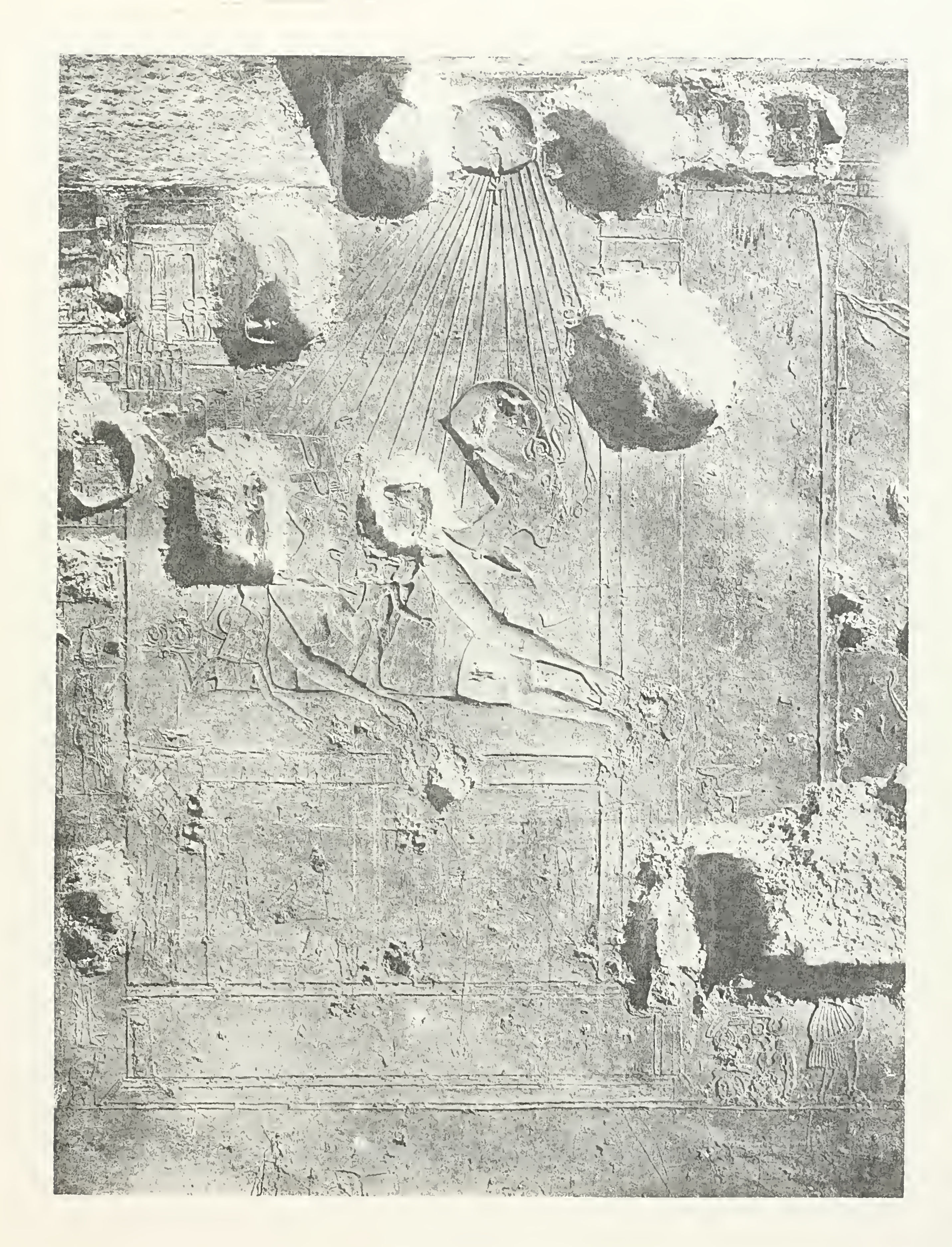
(Cols. 19-30).



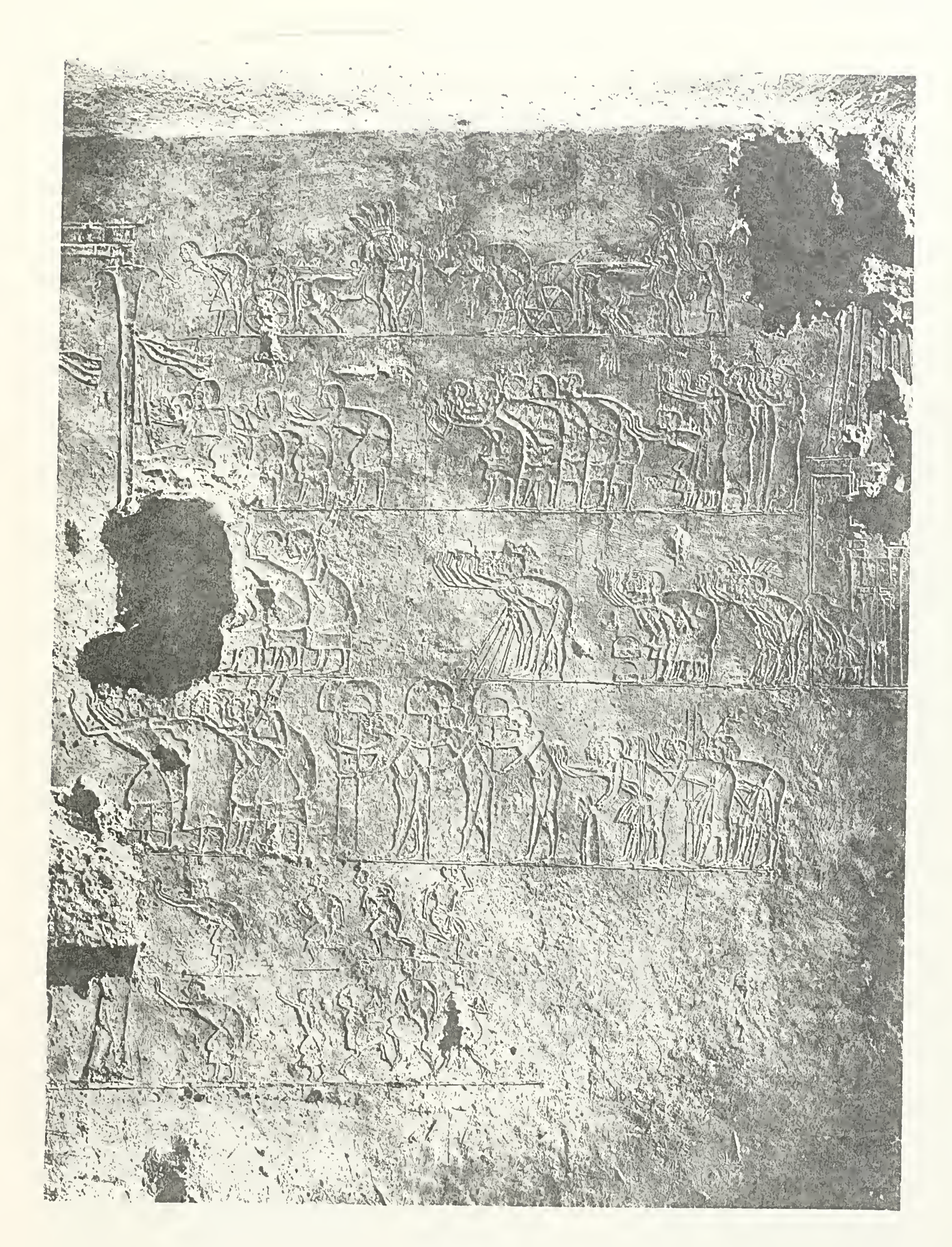
EAST THICKNESS.



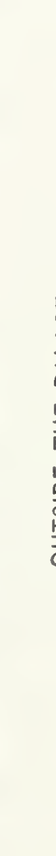
HYMN TO THE ATEN.



THE ROYAL FAMILY.



THE CROWD.



OUTSIDE THE PALACE



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